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# THE INDIAN ARCHIVES

January—June 1954

Volume VIII

Number 1

Published by the National Archives of India  
New Delhi



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# THE INDIAN ARCHIVES

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Volume VIII

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## THE FINDING AID PROGRAMME IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES, U.S.A.

THE finding aid programme of the National Archives has taken its character from the type of records with which it has to deal. Records of the Federal Government of the United States have certain characteristics which differentiate them from those contained in the older archival agencies of Europe. They are modern in creation, large in volume, complex in origin, amorphous in development, and diverse in arrangement.

The modernity and quantity of Federal records are best illustrated by statistics, which have been quoted *ad nauseam* in American archival circles, but which nonetheless clarify the problem. The volume of records created from the establishment of the Federal Government until the American Civil War was approximately 100,000 cubic feet. From the Civil War to the First World War the increase was about 1,500,000 cubic feet. Between the First World War and the economic depression 3,500,000 cubic feet more were accumulated. During the decade of the 1930's, when the Government was concerned with the economic depression and with preparations for a second world war, 10,000,000 cubic feet were added. And since the beginning of the Second World War another 18,000,000 cubic feet have been produced.

The complexity of Federal records is attributable, in large part, to the complexity of the Government that created them. In the course of a century and a half the activities of the Federal Government have constantly been expanded, for they have grown up with the country. In periods of economic and military emergency this expansion has been greatly accelerated. In the Executive branch of the Government a pyramid-like governmental structure has thus arisen, with its apex in the offices of the President, and with its base resting upon multitudinous local offices. In its organization and functioning this structure has been made more complex by certain characteristics that are inherent in the American form of government, e.g., the system of checks and balances under which the Legislative branch reviews the functioning of the Executive; and the

two-party system under which governmental organization becomes responsive, to a degree at least, to changes of programme and policy.

The amorphous quality of Federal records may be explained by the way in which Federal business has been conducted. Until recently a career service did not exist for persons concerned exclusively with the management of Government records. Government agencies did not have registry offices, as did some European countries, in which incoming records on a transaction were systematically reviewed, attached to other pertinent records, referred to appropriate officials for action, and finally classified under well-defined schemes of arrangement; and in which all of these steps were properly recorded and controlled. File rooms, which are the nearest American equivalent to registry offices, were established in a number of Government agencies, but seldom succeeded in achieving the rigid control over records that was achieved by their European counterparts; and frequently they were unable to prevent the establishment of files in other Government offices. Usually, in recent times, as records on a given transaction flow upward through one office after another in an agency, each office develops and maintains records on the transaction. This proliferation of records has been increased by the use of the typewriter and other duplicating devices; and in periods of emergency activities it has reached astonishing proportions in Government agencies.

Under the circumstances under which Federal records have developed, great diversity in their arrangement might be expected. The earliest Government filing systems were quite simple, and consisted usually of three series: (1) incoming letters, which were usually filed numerically, and indexed; (2) outgoing letters, handwritten copies or press copies of which were usually bound into volumes that were indexed, and (3) miscellaneous papers. Gradually incoming and outgoing letters were brought together into single file units, which were arranged alphabetically by subjects or numerically, and, if numerically, then indexed alphabetically by subject. The simple alphabetical and numerical systems were in turn replaced by more complicated systems, such as the Dewey-decimal, the subject-numeric, the duplex-numeric, and others. Each agency or office adopted the system of its preference, so that there was no uniformity of system from agency to agency, and, within agency, from office to office. Nor was there any uniformity in the ways in which the different systems were applied.

The above characteristics of Federal records were taken into account by the National Archives in planning a programme for the production of finding aids that would make known to inquirers the character and the content of records transferred to its custody. Its present holdings comprise

millions of documents and thousands of record series created by hundreds of agencies and subordinate units. In attempting to describe these holdings, it had to develop various types of finding aids—types best suited to deal with modern records that are huge in volume, complex in origin and arrangement, and enormous in the range of their subject content.

As a first step in bringing the large and diverse mass of records under control for purposes of description, the National Archives established a system of "record groups". A record group most frequently consists of the records of a single agency (and its predecessors) at the bureau level in the framework of the Government, such as the Office of Indian Affairs, the Coast Guard, or the Weather Bureau. Occasionally, however, the records of a number of agencies have been brought together on the basis of administrative or other relationships to constitute "collective" record groups. These record groups serve as the basic framework for all arrangement, analysis, and description activities.

In producing finding aids two different approaches may be taken in describing records, *viz.*: (1) the provenance approach, and (2) the subject-matter approach. In the first of these records are described in relation to their organizational and functional origins; in the second in relation to their subject-matter. The first approach, in short, results in a description of records in terms of *provenance*, the second in terms of *pertinence* to subjects. Both approaches are taken in the National Archives.

The provenance approach in describing records is consistent with the guiding principle of the archival profession in arranging records. In accordance with the principle of *respect des fonds* records are kept together by an agency, and by administrative subdivisions within an agency. Their arrangement in an archives reflects the organization, and in part the functions of the office that produced them. The principle, therefore, provides the archivist with a workable and economical guide in describing, as well as in arranging records. Modern records cannot be effectively described otherwise than in relation to organization and function. The subjects they cover are too vast in number and too interrelated to provide a means of identifying record segments. Modern library techniques of cataloguing and indexing are difficult to apply to records description.

In analyzing records from the point of view of their provenance a number of fairly precise steps can be distinguished. The first of these is finding out which particular administrative unit within a complex governmental hierarchy produced the body of records under consideration. The second is learning about the function or the activity that resulted in the creation of the records. The third is identifying their physical type, that

is, whether they consist of correspondence, reports, directives, schedules, or the like. The fourth is determining the kind of arrangement given them, that is, whether they were arranged under a given type of filing system, or were simply kept together because they relate to a particular subject or activity or because they had a particular form. These basic data on the administrative and functional origins, the type, and the arrangement of records are developed during the production of each of the various kinds of finding aids of the National Archives.

In describing records from the point of view of their organizational and functional origins, the National Archives produces a series of finding aids which proceeds from the general to the particular, becoming progressively more detailed as records are analyzed by smaller units. In the most general descriptions the record group is the unit of reference, and the characteristic form of generalized description for this unit is the record group registration statement. Less general than the description of record groups is the description of records in terms of series. The preliminary inventory is the characteristic form of description at this level of generalization. Records description becomes particular when it passes below the series level to the detailed list.

The most general of the finding aids that are produced, from the point of view of provenance, are the documents prepared for each record group as a whole. These documents are designed to provide certain minimum essential information about the record group which can be made available shortly after it has been established, and which can be kept current by revisions as additional records are accessioned. They are not designed to provide detailed information on records contained in any particular record group, for the establishment of an optimum control at an early stage in the analysis of records is impracticable. The most important of the documents are the "registration sheets". A registration sheet is used as a working tool by the staff of the National Archives, and because of its frequent revision it serves to supplement certain general guides that are produced on all records in custody. It consists of a brief one or two page narrative and descriptive document in which are given the particular facts about the origin, organization, and functions of the agency whose records constitute the group, a brief description of the records belonging to the group in the custody of the Archivist, appropriate references to the accessioning transactions by which the records were brought in, the names of the branches that have immediate charge of the records, and a brief statement about the location of other records not in the custody of the Archivist that would appropriately belong to the record group. Two other documents are prepared on each record group, (i) a list of finding aids

that provide information about the accessioned records and (2) a statement of the restrictions, if any, on the use of the accessioned records.

The second stage in the description of records, from the point of view of their provenance, is the preparation of preliminary inventories. Normally, preliminary inventories are intended to cover an entire record group. When a record group has very complex administrative origins and can be conveniently divided into separable parts, these parts may be covered by separate preliminary inventories. A preliminary inventory is provisional in character and is prepared as soon as possible after records are accessioned. It is prepared primarily for internal use, not only as an official finding aid but also as a means of establishing inventory control for various administrative purposes over records in the National Archives. Preliminary inventories provide information on the character of records in terms of their administrative and functional origins ; their types ; their chronological, geographical, or subject-matter coverage ; their relationships to other records ; and their arrangement. This information is provided in an introduction, in which the record group is described and identified as a whole ; in analytical series entries, which are grouped under administrative, functional, or other headings ; and in appendices, which usually provide additional information about particular series. The way in which an inventory of records produced in the National Archives perhaps differs from inventories produced in most European archives is in the unit of description that is employed. The unit is a series. Considering the amorphous and diverse ways in which records are maintained within the originating offices, it is obvious that a series is hard to define. Usually it consists of a physical body of records (1) in which certain types, such as volumes, forms, or dossiers are kept together in a serial order, or in the order of their accumulation, or (2) in which certain types, usually correspondence and related records, are filed under a single filing scheme, or (3) in which various types are kept together as a unit because they relate to a particular subject or activity. In the inventories the series are given titles, which distinguish the type of records involved, indicate various identifying attributes, inclusive dates, and quantity. The series are further described in brief paragraphs in which additional information may be provided on the types, the physical form, the administrative and functional origins, and the character of the records which comprise the series. The appendices usually consist of lists of subject entries derived from the headings of filing schemes, from folder headings, or from analyses of the contents of particular series.

The most detailed level of description, from the point of view of provenance, is that of the individual document. While it is the declared

policy of the National Archives that all of its holdings shall be covered (1) by registration statements, providing current general information on record groups created by large governmental entities, and (2) by inventories, naming and describing in general terms every unit of records at a series level, the preparation of detailed lists of separate items below the series level is not prescribed as a routine step. Ordinarily, records can be adequately described and identified by treating them collectively, series by series. But sometimes it is essential, for descriptive purposes, to identify the various parts of series or to indicate in greater detail the subjects to which the records in series pertain. In the National Archives two broad types of detailed lists may be distinguished: (1) lists of subjects derived from file unit headings, in which each entry corresponds to a single subject heading of a filing scheme or a folder label, and (2) lists of subjects derived from an analysis of records in which each entry listed under a subject heading corresponds to a single physical unit—a dossier, a document, or a volume. Normally, detailed lists of subjects of the former type, namely those derived from file unit headings, are embodied in appendices to preliminary inventories. Lists of the latter type, however, may be issued separately if they meet certain criteria that apply to their utility and to the suitability of the items for listing. Separately published lists of record items will normally be arranged by subject. Grouping record items according to subject is usually the most effective way of presenting detailed information in a usable form, for in most cases a user will take up a list to see what it contains on a subject that interests him. Lists arranged by subject may be either selective or comprehensive in the sense that only particular items or all items pertaining to a given subject may be included. Selective lists may help solve the problem of mass for the user. They will accomplish their purpose in either of two ways: (1) by bringing together information about all items relating to a particular subject of importance without regard to the relative importance of the particular items, or (2) by singling out for special mention items of importance in relation to a particular subject, thus bringing to the attention of the user the best sources of information on a subject that interests him.

General information concerning the holdings of the National Archives is made available in guides and handbooks published for use by Government agencies and the public. The *Guide to Records in the National Archives*, published in 1948 as a complete revision of the earlier *Guide*, (1940), covers over 800,000 cubic feet of accessioned records, in 247 record groups. This new *Guide* is extensively indexed as to the subject-matter of the record groups. For each record group it contains information that is similar to that provided in record group registrations, though individual

series of records may be listed wherever they are of a magnitude and importance that will warrant such listing, but in such cases as a rule the listing is not so detailed as that in the preliminary inventories. In 1946 the National Archives published a similar guide in capsule form, entitled *Your Government's Records in the National Archives*. In addition to the general guides to records in the National Archives, a large two-volume handbook of *Federal Records of World War II* was published in 1951. This handbook goes beyond the limits of the Archives building and describes in some detail the war-related records of all agencies of the Government. In the general guides and handbooks the approach to the analysis of records is that of provenance ; and, in general, such finding aids present in comprehensive form the information developed on record groups in the series of finding aids produced for each of them.

The second of the two approaches that may be taken in analyzing records, namely the subject-matter approach, is followed only to a limited degree in the National Archives. During World War II a number of "Reference Information Circulars" were published. Each of these deals with some special subject covered by records in many different record groups. A number of them related to geographical areas, such as the one on "Materials in the National Archives relating to India" prepared by Purnendu Basu, to commodities, such as rubber or forest products, and to specific subjects of interest to war agencies. These cross-sectional circulars, of which about forty have been issued so far, enable the searcher to find his way through the complexity of hundreds of series of records of many different agencies. They were used extensively during the war period by officials and employees of Government agencies.

The subject approach to the analysis and description of records is a difficult one, and the archivist is justified in taking it only because it serves to make available information to the user in a form that is most convenient to him. The general public, as a rule, is unfamiliar with the hierarchical structure of the Government, and considers subjects without particular regard to the Government agencies that dealt with them. To promote the fullest exploitation of its holdings, therefore, the National Archives may have to develop a programme under which records are analyzed in relation to subject rather than provenance. This is a matter of the future.

## A LANDMARK IN INDIAN ARCHIVE-KEEPING

THE preservation and maintenance of the organic unity of archives present a major problem to the archivists in every part of the globe. The inroads made into the archival series by the outgoing officials are doubtless one of the many facets of this archival problem. The desire of the departing official to take away with him official papers, which he considers personal, inasmuch as they have been addressed to him separately or because they embody a record of actions in which he has played an important part, is surely an understandable psychological instinct. But the exodus of the official records in this fashion from the official custody offers a challenge to the archivist to whom has been entrusted the sacred task of preservation of every scrap of evidence and retention of the national archival heritage in unbroken continuity. In his article on 'Archives in the United States of America', Solon J. Buck made a reference to this question in the following words:

"The problem of distinguishing between the personal papers of important public officers and the official records of their offices has aroused a great deal of interest in the United States in recent months. Traditionally, our Presidents have considered the papers that accumulated in the White House during their administration as personal papers and have carried away such of them as they did not destroy. In many cases such papers of the Presidents have later been acquired by the Library of Congress by gift or by purchase and are now preserved as part of our cultural heritage."<sup>1</sup>

H. W. White discusses in greater detail the problem posed by this type of archival estrays. He writes as follows<sup>2</sup>:—

"Equally serious have been the inroads made into archival series by departing officials, a practice now generally recognised as an evil one. In those countries which are less accustomed than is Britain to rely on moral suasion, the position is gradually being met by legislation to prevent the removal or facilitate the return of archival material . . . . certain European Governments further safeguard their archives by regularly appropriating sums for their recovery . . . . the United States has its own peculiar problem in the tradition that Presidential papers leave the White House with their makers. Many Presidential collections have found their way into libraries, and especially the Library of Congress, but none had remained in archival custody until Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt decided that his official and personal papers should be placed under the control of the Federal Archivist in a building to be erected on his family estate at Hyde Park. How far

<sup>1</sup> *The Indian Archives*, Vol. III, Nos. 1-4, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> White, H. W., *Trends in Archives Administration*, pp. 8-9.

the President will be followed by succeeding Presidents or by prominent officials cannot be foretold. If it were, it might bring to an end the controversy regarding the archival nature of the collections of the President and the large body of non-permanent officials in the United States...." White at the same time diagnosed the disease itself. He affirmed: "This has often happened through an act of will, and however deplorable, must be expected when executive acts are controlled by political leaders, dependent upon popular support."

The constitutional position of the Governor-General of India in the days of the East India Company was indeed different from what is stated above ; yet it would be of interest to know, on the evidence of records preserved in the National Archives of India and Commonwealth Relations Record Office (former India Office Library), how 146 years ago a similar problem cropped up before the Court of Directors, when, in accordance with the express wishes of Lord Wellesley at the time of his retirement from the Governor-Generalship of India, the Secretary to the Government of India sent to England a number of official papers, originals as well as copies, for the use of the ex-ruler of India. The Court's refusal to transmit the papers to Lord Wellesley and their emphatic disapproval of such actions put a salutary brake to the exodus of records along with the outgoing highest dignitary of the land, who exercised unique power and authority during the entire period of British rule in India.

Lord Wellesley's desire to retain the records of his tireless activity in India was quite natural. It has been rightly said that his administration was but a series of graduated upheavals from chaos to cosmos. The destruction of Tipoo, the treaty of Bassein, the Maratha Wars and the series of annexations during his Governor-Generalship made interesting reading and Lord Wellesley wanted to have in his possession the records which embodied these events. His directives in this regard were given in two separate minutes because the records involved were, in his opinion, of two distinct categories. The two minutes are reproduced below.

(1)

Fort William  
July 24th, 1805

*The Governor-General*

The Governor General directs the Secretary in the Secret Department to have copies taken (for deposit in the Governor General's Office) of the

Official letters from the Governor of Bombay to the Governor General from the 29th January, 1798 to the 5th June, 1805 and of the official Letters from Lord Clive to the Governor General from the 3rd of October 1799 to the 26th of August 1803 and copies having been taken of those documents the original letters to be transmitted by the Secretary in the Secret Department to Lord Wellesley in England.

Sd/- Wellesley

(2)

Fort William  
July 25th, 1805

*The Governor-General*

The Governor General proposes that the Chief Secretary to the Government be instructed to forward to His Lordship's address in London as soon as they can be completed such of the proceedings of His Lordship's administration as cannot be prepared previously to his embarkation on His Majesty's ship the Home.

Sd/- Wellesley

To the credit of Lord Wellesley it must be said that impairing the integrity of the collection of records with a callous indifference to the needs of administration was farthest from his mind. He desired first to retain the Original Separate Correspondence with the subordinate governments, which he considered to be his personal papers. But he judged it proper that the Government of India should be in possession of copies of such parts of his Lordship's Separate Correspondence with the subordinate governments as had not been already recorded in the Government of India proceedings. Secondly, he wanted to have in his possession copies of the official proceedings of his administration, which in their originals were to stay with their rightful owner, the Government of India.

Nevertheless the Court of Directors could not allow the Original Separate letters and the copies of the official proceedings to pass into the hands of the ex-Governor-General. In their letter of refusal of 29 May 1807 the Court gave concrete expression to archival ideas which not merely helped to create sound opinion in matters affecting records but were also particularly significant in the development of archival practice in India.

The Court wrote to the Secretary to the Government of India (29 May 1807):—

"With respect to Separate Correspondences now in question, we must observe that Marquess Wellesley should not have been allowed to retain the originals, which being official documents and the only copies that can be deemed authentic ought to have remained as records of your Government, and will now be retained by us; and with respect to the Separate Correspondence in general, carried on during the whole period of Marquis Wellesley's Government between him and the Governors of subordinate Presidencies in India we direct that a complete set thereof be transmitted to us.

On the transmission of the copies of the proceedings of Govt. for Marquis Wellesley we must remark that, although we may be disposed to allow our Governor General to take copies of such select parts of the Public Records as relate to the more material transactions that have occurred during their administration and in which they may feel themselves more particularly interested; yet we must disapprove of, and prohibit the practice of granting to any Governor General at the close of his administration, copies of the whole of the proceedings, in all or in any of the Departments of the Government during the period of his Government, because thus in process of time all the records of our Indian Government may get into the hands of private families and at length to the press and to the enemies of the Company and the country, without any power of prevention on our part."

It will be seen from the first paragraph of the letter that the Court subscribed to the view that authenticity hedgeth the original documents and as such showed their fondness for the originals in preference to the copies thereof. In articles 33 and 34 of Muller, Feith and Fruin's well-known *Manual for the Arrangement and Description of Archives* also we find echo of the same opinion. It will be seen again that the Court's refusal to transmit copies of the proceedings of the Government of India to Lord Wellesley is basically related to the question of public access to official archives. In every archives repository access to the official records is clearly governed by rules which, while offering facilities for research, never throws open to the researchers the records of very recent period nor releases information which is found exceptionable to the Government whose records the archives repository holds in custody. I feel tempted to quote at length what Dr. S. N. Sen, former Director of Archives, Government of India, remarked at a meeting of the Research and Publication Committee held at New Delhi on 2 March 1946 when the proposal of granting access to records in the National Archives of India prior to 1901 was mooted by a member of the Committee:

"It may be interesting to consider in this connection the practice

obtaining in some of the progressive records offices abroad. In the Public Record Office (London) permission may be obtained by students to consult all records of a date earlier than 1843<sup>a</sup>. As regards archives of the various Government Departments (belonging to a later date) they are open to inspection down to the years specified by the heads of such departments. But in general, permission is granted by the heads of departments to consult documents of a date earlier than 1885. There are also records of Government Departments in the Public Record Office which are not open to public inspection.

In pre-war France the rule was that records less than 50 years old were not as a general rule open to inspection, and it is believed the same rule still holds good. At the National Archives, Paris, records less than 50 years old can be consulted with the permission of the Minister who has deposited them. The archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs can be consulted with the permission of the Minister concerned and in no case a document of a date later than 1871 is open to inspection. The year limit fixed for the archives of the Ministry of War is 1848 and that for the administrative records of the War Ministry is 1799. Marine records are open to inspection up to 1789.

The year limit in pre-war Prussia and Austria was 1888 ; that for Denmark 1880 with the exception that Royal permission is necessary for consulting the records of the Royal House later than 1808. In Italy unless the rules have been substantially changed since 1940, documents relating to foreign politics and the general administration of the state of periods subsequent to 1867 are not open to inspection. Papers relating to criminal suits cannot be consulted until they are 70 years old and the papers of administrative offices until they are 30 years old. The rules regulating access to the National Archives, Washington, do not provide for any chronological limit. But this is only theoretical as the National Archives receive for custody only records which are more than 50 years old. Moreover under the National Archives Act 'any head of an executive department may for limited periods not exceeding in duration his tenure of that office, exempt for examination and consultation such confidential matter transferred from his department as he may deem wise'."

Viewed in this context, the Court of Directors, in the 2nd paragraph of the aforesaid letter, were rightly giving expression to a wholesome note of apprehension which finds echoes, even from such a distance of time, in the regulations framed by the modern administrators concerning the access to their records.

<sup>a</sup> Records of a later date have, of course, since been made accessible,

To crown all, it must be admitted that the firm's stand taken by the Court of Directors in 1807 removed, once for all, even the remotest possibility of Government of India records being carried away from official custody by the outgoing highest executive officials, the Governors-General and Viceroys of India, who have aptly been described as the Grand Mughals, first of Calcutta, then of Delhi.

P. C. Roy

## TWO LETTER-BOOKS OF RICHARD BARWELL 1769-73 (LETTER-BOOK II.)\*

*Letter 1. pp. 1-11.*

*R. Barwell to his sister Mary; on Road to Patna, 30 September 1771.*

CHIEFLY on matters of family business, in reply to letters of 27 April and 10 December 1770. "My uncle I hope is now satisfied; he had not at any time reason to be otherwise, my hands were tied up by his own orders which directed me not to trust any of the foreign Companys but remit through the English Company's cash, and I did so the first opportunity that offered." Answering a point in his letter "That Lord Clive has never been my enemy is his assertion and he ought certainly to know best", but he recapitulates his grievances under Clive's government and goes on to repudiate his brother Roger's imputations of "a haughty deportment to my inferiors or equals", and accusations of ingratitude he believes Clive to make by implication. He has seen a letter from John Purling to his nephew in India and "I continue to flatter myself with hopes of success".

"My brother[s] Roger and James were both of them in an error when they discouraged you from making application to the Directors on the subject of my rank in the Company's service.... I am sure my mind would not have been satisfied if you had not exerted every endeavour to obtain the accomplishment of my views....

I have carefully marked those passages in your letter which speak of an interest you hope to secure among the present sett of Directors. Well-wishers to your brother you may possibly raise; but to push his pretensions he should have an active friend. How well adapted to the end Mr. Hawkesworth may prove I am not a judge". After some discussion of Hawkesworth's public and private virtues, the letter continues, "the benefit to arise to our family from Mr. Hawkesworth's becoming a Director at your instance (as you rightly observe) is doubtfull, but should your friend (and your friend surely is my friend) thinks it eligable (*sic*) to engage in such a scene of life, I will enable my attorneys to furnish you with the means". He expresses gratitude to Henry Savage for attention to his interests.

After some details on his health, and his brother James' movements, he adds "I propose to write to Lord Clive in consequence of a hint given me by Mr. Beaumont, but it must be with caution. Mr. William Andrew Price a Gentleman in Council at Bombay, was dismiss'd the Company's

\* First Letter-Book appeared in *The Indian Archives*, Vol. VII, no. 2, July-December, 1953, pp. 115-45.

service because his Lordship exposed to the Directors a letter written to him by that gentleman touching their affairs.

I wish with all my heart my brothers would consider the times, and act conformably: What have they to do with party matters. The men that have it in their power and are inclined to befriend us merit our acknowledgments. I am sensible it may be urged with truth little dependence is to be placed in Lord Clive. Be it so. We are upon our guard, and should not by impotently making shew of a wish to check his influence in the Direction render him an inveterate enemy. Besides, such is the depravity of manners and principles, that the man or men who may take his place to dictate to the Company will probably be no more to our family's interests than is his Lordship at present. I imagine the India stocks will fall considerably this year from the Company's inability to continue the high dividends proposed for '70. The Directors have been deceived by erroneous estimates of their income and of their charges, not from design I really believe, but from supineness in their Governors, and where there is a defect in the head the Company's affairs can never be well administered."

"P.S. The Gentlemen having promoted me to the Chiefship of Patna I requested permission to defer my departure and to continue in my late station of 2nd of the Council of Revenue at Muxadavad for 25 days longer, within which period I did suppose some certain news would have been received from England in consequence of which I must have repaired to Calcutta (for on the present system all Counsellors are necessitated to reside there)". This request was refused, but this may be fortunate "should orders from England change the regulations now in force and restore the Chiefships to the Members of the Council I may possible keep Patna".

A pencil note, evidently added later, says "that happened which is here suggested but Mr. B. had come to the Presidency and instead of returning to Patna went to Dacca in July 1772. Company orders 1772".

*Letter 2. pp. 11-14.*

*R. Barwell to Thomas Rumbold; Bankipore, 22 December 1771.*

He apologises for his tardiness in writing, the result of his hopes that Rumbold would soon be in Bengal again. Since this is now unlikely, he sends him news. The letter chiefly concerns Rumbold's affairs, affected by the failure of his attorney, Price. The extent of his losses cannot yet be known. "I shall soon leave this place for Calcutta, when I will inspect the management of your affairs now under Mr. Killican's<sup>1</sup> particular charge, and write you from thence".

<sup>1</sup> David Killican, free merchant in Bengal, later appointed factor.

He then expresses his disappointment at the way in which the Company has treated him, in appointing others over him. "At the very time they are pleased to praise me and tell me they hope I may be promoted, they supercede me. 'Words are one thing, actions another'. My province however, is at present submission, and should I find a friend to raise me, to him I will give every acknowledgement gratitude is capable of.... and I request, as a particular favor, if you obtain your wishes and come to Bengall, that you will be so kind as to get me righted".

*Letter 3. pp. 14-16.*

*R. Barwell to Francis Charlton ; Bankipore, 24 December 1771.*

The letter first discusses the effect on Charlton's business affairs of Price's misfortunes, and then continues, with a criticism of the state of Company affairs.

"Since I wrote you by the Lapwing many changes have interrupted the course of the service in Bengall. The distrust which the Company have shown of their superior servants by divesting them of the offices which were heretofore allotted to particular stations must be very disgusting, and though in theory the plan may promise good effects, practice has condemned it, for even the little attention that was before paid is (now) no more given. The business of everybody is recommended from one to another, and so, in fact, becomes nobody's. Thus every expense is enlarged, and as no office whatever can be well regulated, unless it be the province of an individual, not of a committee, to inspect it, you may easily imagine the confusion into which almost all branches of the Company's business is thrown. For my part, I am at a loss to judge why the present mode should have been preferred. The appointment of Committees may be eligible (*sic*) for a general superintendence, but for particular inspection and controul it is impossible that Committees can answer the end. Ergo, it should have been the task of particular Inspectors set over the gentlemen who hold the several posts of trust ; and then a question again arises upon the present system of suspecting the integrity of the servants. Will not these Inspectors become essentially, though not nominally, the heads of the different offices and the Chiefs of subordinates, for they will hold a power superior to the nominal Heads and may exercise it to their own purposes. How this sceptical reasoning shall affect the Company's affairs I cannot say. I am convinced it will never benefit them. The obvious and plain system which everybody can understand and everybody will support is advancement to those who have merited well in the discharge of any trusts of importance, and to those who are misled in pursuit of wealth, reprobation and suspension."

*Letter 4. pp. 17-18.*

*R. Barwell to his brother William ; Patna, 24 December 1771.*

A personal letter in reply to one of 9 March, 1770. He considers his brother Roger's fortune must bring in £1800 a year.

*Letter 5. p. 18.*

*R. Barwell to Sir Gilbert Elliot<sup>2</sup>; Patna, 26 December 1771.*

In reply to letter of 6th, expresses a desire to do all in his power for Sir Gilbert's son Alexander.

*Letter 6. pp. 19-22.*

*R. Barwell to his brother Roger ; Patna, 27 December 1771.*

In reply to letter of 8 May 1771. Denies the suggestion alleged to emanate from his brother William that he is lacking in concern for his family and their welfare, or that he considers other men before his brothers. "Hastings, or any other Governor, however well he may be inclined to consider me, will scarcely adventure to disoblige many of the members of his council in order to answer my particular wishes. Recollect yourself, Roger, and you will find that the very political principle you are so anxious to instill into me, will actuate whoever may be our Governor. Therefore, precedence is more necessary than you seem inclined to admit in the political dance, and the real, not the imaginary, source of wealth, as you ingeniously term it ; for this reason I interested my friends, and it is for this, though but a secondary reason, I am solicitous of being high in the public estimation. I have not leisure to descant on the propriety of the measure you had once determined upon if attention was not paid to your memorial by the Directors ; your opinion that that step would have been wrong is consonant to what I think of it. What friends have I, and who am I, to stand up and force the Directors to promote me, if they are not inclined to it. To conciliate interests and to urge the point by mild means is all that I required, and this I am still of opinion may be done, and with good effect. Your observation that my apparent integrity is a bar to my preferment I cannot by any means allow, although I admit that promotion does not always follow praise."

He continues to express his views on the necessity of maintaining "sentiments of honor", and refers to his recent disappointment and what he considers to be a supersession. "My sister writes me she has brought Mr. Hawkesworth to visit you. As he is a man of an amiable private

<sup>2</sup> Sir Gilbert Elliot, M.P. 3rd Bt. His son Alexander was a Company servant in Bengal, later an intimate supporter of Warren Hastings.

character, and reputed of great abilities he may prove to you a happy acquaintance ; with respect to Mr. McLane [Lauchlan Maclean] I have heard he is the tool of a particular party. A connexion with him therefore I do suppose depends on circumstances. But your prudence and penetration I make no doubt has presented to you all possible consequences, and your confidence in him is, of course, such as may not involve you hereafter."

*Letter 7. p. 23.*

*R. Barwell to James Bulcock in Southwark ; Calcutta, 24 December 1771.*

Acknowledging business letter of 17 January 1770.

*Letter 8. pp. 23-24.*

*R. Barwell to John Purling ; Calcutta, 15 January 1772.*

In reply to letter of 8 May, pointing out that the investigation asked for would be extremely arduous and scarcely practicable. "The provision of the Cossimbazar investments so justly complained of may be attributed entirely to one cause, ignorance. The gentleman who was preferred to the charge of the Cossimbazar factory never had an opportunity of acquiring that minute knowledge, without which no man can judge the price of any article of merchandize, much less of so nice and valuable a commodity as raw silk. You need, then, look no further, for the disappointment the Company experienced in the badness of the investments they have received. View the service round, and you will find the most important stations have been filled by gentlemen who it was impossible could be competent judges of your commercial interests." Will try to expose any abuse or corruption which has occurred.

*Letter 9. pp. 24-25.*

*R. Barwell to John Hawkesworth ; Patna, 24 December 1771.*

Acknowledging letter of 17 December 1770, and thanking him for the friendly part he has taken to promote the success of his, Barwell's, wishes. He is also obliged to Henry Savage for his attentions.

*Letter 10. p. 26.*

*R. Barwell to Ralph Leycester and Anselm Beaumont ; Calcutta, 27 January 1772.*

Concerning business affairs, and asking them to discharge a demand his brother, Captain James Barwell, has on him. "As he writes me that it is not very agreeable sailing in the service of gentlemen to whom he is a stranger and that disagreeable things have happened to Commanders from

the Husbands of their ships' because the majority of the owners have not been by interest or connections united with the Captain, I request, if it does not interfere with your views that you will each of you be so good as to take a share in the Anckerwicke. I propose to write to Mr. Hardwicke and Mr. Charlton to the same effect, and to those of my acquaintance who I think will regard my request."

*Letter 11. pp. 27-28.*

*R. Barwell to his brother James ; Calcutta, 27 January 1772.*

Acknowledging letter from China, and answering requests for merchandise.

"I will write to my friends to secure you a majority in the Anckerwicke, and if it can be brought about, to constitute you the Husband of the ship."

*Letter 12. pp. 28-31.*

*R. Barwell to Roger Barwell ; Calcutta, 13 March 1772.*

Concerning their financial affairs, sending a Bill of Exchange, and copies of receipts.

*Letter 13. pp. 32-36.*

*R. Barwell to his sister Mary ; undated.*

Thanks her again for securing Hawkesworth's friendship. He cannot, however, approve of the means by which his brother Roger had tried to push his cause in England. "I shall touch upon a point in which I think him to have greatly deviated from prudence. The memorial of my friends, their zeal, however obliging, may, I fear, lead to an end of which they have at present no idea, and instead of promoting, obstruct my future prospects in the Service. The arguments which first appeared from you in favour of my pretensions to be restored to my rank, were proper and judicious as notes for conversations with those gentlemen my friends might attempt to influence to push my interests in the Direction ; but as a publick paper to conduce to the obtainment of my wishes, it is very defective and I must frankly own I am concerned such a memorial should ever have appeared." He indicates how imperfectly his claims on the Company had been stated. Encloses a letter to Stephen Lushington from the latter's brother asking him to support Hawkesworth for the Direction. He has remitted about £25,000 from India this year and now sends her £4,000 "that you may not experience any difficulty from the proposed loan to Mr. H[awkesworth]."

*Letter 14. p. 37.*

*R. Barwell to Anselm Beaumont ; Calcutta, 28 March 1772.*

Requesting him to give Hawkesworth any proprietary interest Beaumont could command in the India Stock and support him at the time of election.

*Letter 15. pp. 38-49.*

*R. Barwell to John Hawkesworth ; Calcutta, 28 March 1772.*

Exposees his grievances and ambitions and hopes for Hawkesworth's help. "From the enclosed (which be pleased to forward after perusing) you will perceive my sentiments of the memorial which my brother gave birth to. My reason for disapproving of the measure in general proceed[s] from the little probability there appeared to me of its effecting any other end than that of creating an opposition to my views by alarming the friends of every gentleman whose interests might be prejudiced by my advancement.... My sister writes me that the Gentlemen in the Direction tell her those who are before me will not stand in my way if my wishes soar to the head of the Company's service in Bengall. Those who have told her so are themselves deceived by their own hopes. A man may have a sufficient interest to succeed in the service agreeably to the fixt rotation of it, whereas a far superior one is required to over-rule the pretensions of others which would naturally be urged in opposition to what might be deemed an improper preference."

As to his present position. "I am pleased, however, I was not continued a member of an administration the weakness of which must reflect on the several individuals who composed it. The political interests of the Company were either greatly neglected or grossly mistaken. The King under whose auspices the Company are said to derive their rights, instead of that sword to which they owe them, has been permitted (without the measures that might have been taken to prevent him) to join our natural enemies the Morattas, who for these some years past have promised to become masters of all Hindostan, and hitherto he has received the revenues which by his treaties with the English were stipulated for him, to enable him to promote their designs. The consequence has been that in the King's name and with the assistance of English money, the Morattahs are carrying on a successful war. They have already invaded the Dominions of Zaubtah Caun, have overthrown his armys and almost possest themselves of the Rohillah country. The rapidity of this conquest and their bending their views to the Dominions of Suja uldowla, the Vizier, and which we esteem as a frontier to the Company's domain, has greatly

terrified that Nabob, and General Sir Robert Barker, who is at present at Fyzabad has made it a pretext for ordering the 1st Brigade, under the command of Colonel Champion, to march thither directly." The Governor and Council have however disapproved and have ordered the brigade to halt wherever their letter may reach it, so that the matter can be considered further. "A plan had been formed by the Government here for its defence against any attack that might be proposed by the French, who have a very large military force at the Isles of Bourbon etc. By this plan, two-thirds of our army were put in motion. The 3rd Brigade, stationed at Mungher, was drawn to the Presidency, and the 2nd Brigade, ordered to move to the station the 3rd lately left, will shortly be encamped, and as it does not quit the garrison here before the 3rd Brigade arrives and is ready to relieve it, it will for these 2 months at least be prepared to act as occasion offers, and can at an hour's warning, move, in case of any invasion, and join in time to repell the efforts of a French army. The suspicions of the hostile designs of France arise from two reasons, the largeness of the military force assembled at the Islands, and the consequence of the object to France, a blow that would deprive the English Government of 1½ millions sterling (which it reaps from the trade and possessions of the India Company) and give it to France."

These facts make General Barker's unauthorized actions still more reprehensible.

"Mr. Hastings, our new ruler, has not as yet taken charge of the Government, and it is impossible to expect that in his present situation he will be explicit, or act as if he was in the Chair. In some respects, however, he has been pleased to treat me with the confidence of an old acquaintance, and I flatter myself a similarity of sentiment on publick matters may unite us more closely. An obvious defect in the system which has long obtained I find has struck him forcibly, for he has remarked to me that he observes the Governor and Council are responsible where they in fact have no charge, and instancing the trust formerly executed by the Resident at the Durbar, and now by a Chief and Council, he concluded with saying the Government is in reality not at Calcutta, but Moorshidabad, Patna and Dacca—, for the Governor and Council of Calcutta do no more than hear what is done at those stations, and despatch the ships and take care of the investment ; while the most material concern to the Company, the revenues, is entrusted to and almost entirely regulated by, junior servants, and that by this mode the service was inverted and the tail become the head ; but how he proposes to amend it I cannot at present conceive, and time alone must unravel the secret.

In the civil department of the Company's service nothing material has

occurred in which I have had a share, except uniting the Revenue and Commercial Council at Patna (which I proposed on taking my seat at the Board, on conviction that one establishment would answer all the purposes of the two, and be a saving to the government of a pretty considerable expense.)"

*Letter 16. pp. 50-53.*

*R. Barwell to Harry Verelst<sup>3</sup>; Calcutta, 28 March 1772.*

Acknowledges receipt of letters of 20 March 1771.

"The Dadney Scheme which the Company by the last letters appear to have much at heart is overset by the too exorbitant demands of the merchants, not only in point of price, but with respect to exclusive privileges and systems of monopoly which they have been pleased to mark out for themselves, and which are incompatible with the principles that are the groundwork of the Company's orders. I nevertheless (for all that has been said by the Governor and Council) do think the plan for providing the investment a feasible one, and that it might be adopted with benefit to the country, and of course, ultimately to the Company. But where there is so small encouragement to advance a singular opinion, though in support of a positive regulation from England, I cannot, I flatter myself, be blamed for following the current."

The remainder of the letter repeats grievances with regard to seniority, and then concludes with a short account of the actions taken by General Sir Robert Barker.

*Letter 17. p. 54.*

*R. Barwell to Anselm Beaumont and Ralph Leycester; Calcutta, 28 March 1772.*

Requesting them to advance £4000 to his sister, Mary Barwell, and in addition sums up to £500 p.a. if required.

*Letter 18. pp. 55-58.*

*R. Barwell to John Purling; Calcutta, 28 March 1772.*

After a few introductory remarks concerning Barwell's movements from one station to another in the past months, the letter duplicates letter 16.

*Letter 19. pp. 59-60.*

*R. Barwell to Anselm Beaumont; Calcutta, 10 April 1772.*

Replying to letter of 3 May. "If I have time (for I chuse to write

<sup>3</sup> Governor of Bengal, 1767-9. Now returned to England.

to my known friends first) I will profit by your advice and write to Lord Clive, though to tell you the truth, I look for the same degree of insincerity I have already experienced."

*Letter 20. p. 61.*

*R. Barwell to Miss Ann Keene; Calcutta, 5 September 1772.*

Enclosing a Bill of Exchange for £101.5s.

*Letter 21. p. 61.*

*R. Barwell to Jeremiah Tinker, Esq.; Calcutta, 5 September 1772.*

Replying to an inquiry of 31 January 1772, respecting a business matter.

*Letter 22. p. 63.*

*R. Barwell to Rev. Henry Lushington; Calcutta, 5 September 1772.*

With respect to Lushington's business affairs with his son William.<sup>4</sup>

*Letter 23. p. 64.*

*R. Barwell to Captain Philip Affleck; Calcutta, 5 September 1772.*

Thanking him for the way in which he had shown his sympathy towards Barwell's hopes for advancement.

*Letter 24. pp. 65-66.*

*R. Barwell to [blank]; Calcutta, 5 September 1772.*

In reply to letter of 20 August 1771, respecting a sale of coral.

*Letter 25. pp. 66-67.*

*R. Barwell to [blank]; Calcutta, 5 September 1772.*

Thanking him for his letter of 17th, and his professions of friendship.

*Letter 26. pp. 67-69.*

*R. Barwell to his sister Mary; Calcutta, 5 September 1772.*

Acknowledging her letters of 21 June, 19 August, 24 and 25 November and 24 December 1771, and enclosures, including notes of a conversation with Laurence Sulivan.<sup>5</sup> "I do not know in what manner the Directors may receive the alterations that have been introduced upon the strength of their orders. This I only know, that the material object, the collections of the revenue, will not, in my opinion, be benefitted by the translation of the office to Calcutta, for I do not esteem the change of places any

<sup>4</sup> William Lushington, a Company servant in Bengal.

<sup>5</sup> One of the most prominent Directors and in 1772 Deputy Chairman of the Company.

advantage, while the mode of inspecting and controuling shall be as ineffective as in the former system ; but as the different papers go enclosed it is needless for me to enter into an explanation here of the plan on which the collections are to be superintended, I will only adventure to affirm that it is such as renders the Governor the Nabob of the Country, and that the office of Dewan of the Khalsa is the very appointment of Naib Dewan, and which the Company ordered to be abolished, when they deprived Mahamud Reza Caun of the trust. This officer is certainly to be wished for by any Governor, because he stands between him and the publick, a scapegoat prepared to suffer on any emergency. This is seen by all...." He claims that he had himself sketched out a more satisfactory scheme.

He ends the letter, with the hope that Hawkesworth will select from the material Barwell has sent and submit it to such gentlemen in the direction as his sister considers to be his friends.

*Letter 27. pp. 69-70.*

*R. Barwell to Major Thomas Pearson ; Calcutta, 5 September 1772.*

Acknowledging a letter of 31 August and expressing his desire to do all he can for Pearson, by accepting his power of attorney for transacting some agency business. "I wish to God Lord Clive had not taken such pains to bring the service into ill-repute. He has given it a blow that it will never, never, recover—because it is the interest of everyone who wants anything in it, to set his face against the servants abroad, talk of abuses of which the servants were never guilty, and after exciting the astonishment of the gaping multitude, modestly point out what mighty matters they can perform for the public. Then, if they obtain their object, the first thing to be settled is their own appointments."

*Letter 28. pp. 71-72.*

*R. Barwell to his brother Roger ; Calcutta, 15 November 1772.*

Chiefly in reply to questions referring to Roger's business affairs in India. Has written long letters to Rumbold, and more guardedly to Sulivan, Purling, Savage and Gregory.

*Letter 29.*

*R. Barwell to his sister Mary ; Calcutta, 15 November 1772.*

A personal letter, expressing affection and regard. Tells of letters he has written to individual Directors, copies of which will be sent to his sister by the next ship "that you may judge of the ground you are to take and how to urge the object of my claim".

*Letter 30. pp. 73-75.*

*R. Barwell to Anselm Beaumont; Calcutta, 15 November 1772.*

Concerning business matters, in reply to, letters of August and December 1771 and March 1772. "The question you put to me respecting Bolts's<sup>6</sup> effects in India I cannot answer with positive certainty. From the best information I can obtain there is not means in the hands of his attorneys to answer the claims that are made upon him by different people in India. I am nevertheless of opinion he is worth a competent fortune and, though he might have engaged himself in money transactions just at the period he was about to leave India, I believe it was more with a view to involve the gentlemen he opposed than from any incapacity to settle his affairs without such loans as he at that time took up. I have seen Bolts's book—it is the production of an angry man who tells the truth but not the whole truth where he relates any act out of the common course...." Refers him to Mary and Roger Barwell for particulars on public affairs.

*Letter 31. pp. 75-77.*

*R. Barwell to his brother William; Calcutta, 15 November 1772.*

In reply to his letter of 15 November 1771, he disagrees with William's suggestion that he should leave the service. "I have written already to my attorneys, and shall repeat my desire, that they strengthen the hands of my dear relations with the last farthing of my fortune in their charge. and as I am in expectation they may by this time with my paternal fortune have £ stg. 30,000, it will prove a handsome addition to the family's proprietary interest in the India Funds, and give them a weight with the Directors which, operating in my favor, will be ultimately beneficial to all." A pencil note appended in Barwell's hand "would arrive in June 1773".

*Letter 32. pp. 77-79.*

*R. Barwell to Ralph Leycester; Calcutta, 15 November 1772.*

"The differences which have arisen between the Noble Lord [Lord Clive] and the Directors, I should apprehend, does not proceed from any particular ill-will towards him, but the predicament in which the Company at present stands with the publick. The Directors themselves are willing any disappointments to be experienced by the publick should be attributed to Lord Clive and the Government here, instead of being placed to their

<sup>6</sup> William Bolts, a disreputable Company servant in Bengal, who was deported in 1768, and after his return published an attack on the Bengal administration *Considerations on India Affairs.....1772.*

account ; and as for Petrie, he appears to me to have been misled by the persuasion and encouragement of *His Friends* (in the modern phrase), for I believe, however much he may burn his fingers, a very small part if any of the chesnut (*sic*) he scrambles out of the fire will fall his share."

He then discusses Bolts's book, as in letter 30, adding, "Erronious opinions are of course propagated and must inculcate prejudices of a very injurious nature against the Company's servants and Governments throughout India."

He illustrates the inaccuracies of the work by the case of Jephson taken up by Bolts.

*Letter 33. pp. 80-83.*

*R. Barwell to Richard Becher<sup>1</sup> ; Calcutta, 15 November 1772.*

Criticism of Bolts's book similar to that in letter 32. He goes on to discuss the treatment to Muhammad Rheza Khan. "Seized by Mr. H[asting]s' order while he was sitting in his garden at Nishudbaug and conveyed without any form of process within an hour after his seizure to Calcutta, he has been ever since kept under guards.... Upward of 6 months have now passed away without any scrutiny taking place or mitigation of so great a severity."

He concludes with further criticism of the manner in which this detention has been allowed to continue, without any attempt at inquiry.

*Letter 34. pp. 83-89.*

*R. Barwell to Laurence Sullivan ; Calcutta, 15 November 1772.*

An approach to him for support, with an account of claims to preferment, involving an account of Barwell's career since 1760. While postponing a full account of Company affairs until the next ship, he comments,

"I am concerned, however, to observe that a difference of opinion on some matters has not been pleasing to Mr. Hastings. The material points you will find in the enclosed minutes—

1. My sentiments on the mode of regulating the Khalsa on its removal.
2. My objections to the measure proposed to the Committee of Circuits, for a member of the Board to be Chief at Patna, and occasional ambassador to the Court of the Vizier.
3. My sentiments on the Governor's affirmation that any interference of the Board by appointing an ambassador to the Court of the Vizier was an infringement of his particular province.

<sup>1</sup> Formerly member of Council of Bengal.

4. My reply to Mr. Aldersey on the minute he opposed to the above to support the consistency of his own conduct, his rejoinder and my remark upon it.
5. My minute in the reply to the Board in their Revenue Department.
6. The Resolution of the Board for reducing the interest premium of 8 per cent on the Company's notes to 5 per cent.

This resolution ought to appear on record the 10th September, during the Governor's absence (though it does not appear in the proceedings). I had frequently and earnestly urged to the Board's consideration to reduce or to lighten the enormous debt, which is accumulated to 1 Crore 30 Lacs of Rupees, and at last, with some difficulty carried the above resolution, with deferring the final execution of it to the Governor's return to Calcutta." He refers him to the public records for an account of what has since been done, and continues, "As it is a matter of so much real consequence to the Company, it gives me concern to remark it has been so very lightly treated, or that there should prove any necessity for my agitating the consideration of it by any particular minute."

The remainder of the letter discusses the proposed reduction of the military establishments, on grounds of cost.

"The risk which would attend any considerable reduction by weakening the force which will be found necessary in times of danger is obvious. Consider the great tract of country you have to defend, and that if you cannot form stations of troops to effect this, the country may be over run and the revenue, of course, lost to you. A much less military establishment, I grant, is able to oppose most enemies the Company may have to cope with, but it is not the mere fighting part, or opposition you can give in the field if the enemy is disposed to join battle, but the protection of the country and inhabitants, should a powerful enemy invade it, determined to avoid an engagement, to harrass your troops and to desolate the provinces. This is the point of most moment, and can never be prevented but by maintaining so numerous a body of troops as to be able to admit of numerous and large detachments. But as the expence is the grand stirring (*sic*) of objection to the largeness of your military establishment, might not a saving be made without impairing your force. Your black troops are in the greatest request. Your compliment (*sic*) of officers is more than full and you have 300 Cadets to be provided for. The troops then that you may think it prudent to part with, these with their officers, etc., would gladly be accepted as auxilliaries, and Suja Dowla, I am convinced, would with pleasure enter into such articles as might secure him

so valuable an acquisition and you preserve your authority over the troops."

*Letter 35. pp. 89-99.*

*R. Barwell to Robert Gregory; Calcutta, 15 November 1772.*

Thanking him for a letter of 23 March. He describes the recent events. "The plan of superintending the affairs of the Khalsa professes an end which must, I think, appear to all men extreamly ill-adapted to its accomplishment." Pointing out that he had felt this to be true all the time, he says, "if I viewed the subject in a proper light, and pointed to this means of securing by just checks on the officers of the Government the greatest and most important interests of the Company (the revenue of the three provinces) I flattered myself with performing an acceptable service... The outline of the mode of superintending the Khalsa is as follows—a member of Council, in monthly rotation, is supervisor of the office, who issues to the Roy Royan the orders received from the Board, and he executes them in the official forms. The Supervisor likewise on any subject which requires immediate communication is to correspond with the Collectors, and he is to call upon the Roy Royan and take care a proper and due regard is given to the timely and regular discharge of the Kistbundies and the receipts of the money into the Treasury, and lastly, he is to examine into the conduct of the officers of the Khalsa, and to inspect, regulate and compare the different provincial accounts (in Bengall termed Muffussill Papers) which are transmitted in the language of the Country. For the English accounts, which is a compendium and conveys very little information of the minute part of the collections, a weekly auditor is appointed independent of the Khalsa. Thus one month in twelve a member of the Board steps into the charge of an office where he can be no more than a cypher, and then relinquishes it. My reasons for thinking he can be no more than what the Governor and Roy Royan are pleased to allow him to be, are frankly these:—1st. the Governor to whom the Roy Royan is regularly to report the state of his office holds a permanent station and exerts a constant power of inspection and controul—2nd. the Roy Royan while he gives satisfaction to the Governor and is undetected of any malpractice by the monthly Superintendent holds his office in perpetuity—3rd. a natural interest leads the officers of the Khalsa to keep the Superintendent in a state of ignorance and if he happens to prove a man of quick discernment and keen penetration, to baffle every possible exertion of his abilities to come at the truth of things, and the difficultys he must encounter are very striking. He has about 25 days to compleat his researches. All men who can give him any lights know this and that they must inevitably, by

assisting the monthly Superintendant, draw upon themselves the resentment of the officers of the Collections. The officers of the Collections have likewise a thousand expedients to protract' matters for so short a period. They can industriously vex such a man with calling his attention to frivolous and unimportant objects, by making them appear objects of great importance. They can delay furnishing him with papers under various pretexts, while their fixt stations will have a sway in the minds of the people and preponderate against an authority of 25 days duration only, for the other five days of the [office] I allow to the forms etc. etc. of receiving and delivering over the trust of Superintendence between the predecessor and successor. From these premises I therefore deduce that the Superintendant of the Khalsa can be no more than what the Governor with the Roy Royan are pleased to allow him to be, so that the Council have mere nominal consequence and the Governor with the Roy Royan under him the essence of power, with this particular advantage, that the responsibility by this means is thrown from his own shoulders on the Council, who, without possessing such a power to exert any effectual superintendence or check, become the blind and passive authenticators of measures in the Khalsa the consequences of which it is impossible for them clearly to define, from their limitted knowledge, and the difficulty, nay impossibility, of regulating an office which they have not time thoroughly to inspect, much less to investigate. And thus they stand between the Governor and the Publick, and accountable in his stead for what they can neither possibly prevent or remedy". He refers to his minute, enclosed, for his proposals to improve the system, and goes on to refer to the two Naib Dewans, who have been confined in Calcutta for six months, and pointing out that, although undoubtedly they had in a degree misused the power with which they were entrusted, clear proofs of this abuse of their authority would be very difficult to obtain. Then follows reference to his attempts to persuade the Board to discharge or reduce the enormous debt at interest, (as in letter 34), and, finally, a proposal already made in letter 34, for reducing military expenditure without loss of strength.

*Letter 36. pp. 99-110.*

*R. Barwell to John Purling; Calcutta, 14 November 1772.*

Acknowledging a letter of 26 March, and thanking him for the friendly disposition displayed in it. He goes into a detailed account of his service in the Company, and his disappointed hopes of advancement in the past months. Then follows a description of the manner in which the orders by the Lapwing for putting the control of the Diwani on a proper

footing had been carried out. He states his objections to the plan of putting control over the Khalsa into the hands of each member of the Board, in monthly rotation (as in letter 35).

"I am astonished at this extraordinary simplicity and the passive deference shown to Mr. Hastings on the occasion. Not a word in opposition to a plan so ill-calculated to promote the honor of the Government and the publick service but what I presumed to advance in some sentiments previously delivered on the subject" which he encloses.

"The inquiry into the Nabob Mahomed Reza Caun's and Raja Shitabroy's conduct has been suspended because the Governor has not as yet been pleased to bring it on, and they kept close confined to their houses these six months past, and although publication has been made and advertizements posted up at the publick Cutcherries encouraging all men to profer their complaints, the Governor urges he has not materials to proceed upon. If this is really the case (which to me seems apochryphal) it surely is most cruel to continue their confinement.....

Raja Goordass, the son of Raja Nundcomar, was nominated by the Governor to the station of Naib Dewan and his appointment confirmed by the Governor's casting vote. To prevent so disagreeable a contest in the appointment of a man as very obnoxious as Nundcomar to our Government, I proposed, in a minute which is enclosed, that the Governor should name a number of candidates to his Council, that all those against whom no just objection was made should be returned as fit for the employment and that out of them the Governor should elect any he pleased", but this was not accepted. "Why the Governor should have been thus particular for Nundcomar's advancement, I cannot discover. He certainly is the most bitter enemy of Mahomad Reza Caun, but Mahomad Reza Caun has many enemies of that rank in life which entitles them equally to the station to which he is elevated and who could not prove a choice so very exceptionable as the man who now fills the office of Naib Subah or Dewan to the Nabob's Household."

His actions had incurred the displeasure of Hastings as expressed in a minute of 26 October. "My conduct is there represented as a wanton interruption to the course of publick business, and I am charged with taking up the Board's attention, and swelling the proceedings by introducing matter equally unnecessary and unimportant. Since his return to the Presidency and from these premises, he proposes some regulations as a wholesome restraint to the consideration of the Council."

After refuting this criticism, he points out that the Resolution he had persuaded the Council to accept, regarding the enormous debt of the Company, had not yet been acted upon by the Governor. "Inattention to

a point of such material consequence to the Company little supports the display which the Governor is pleased to make of his zeal and application to the weighty objects of Government."

The remainder of the letter concerns the possibility of hostilities from the Marathas, once the rains have passed, and the state of the military forces. He repeats the proposal in letter 34 for military economy.

*Letter 37. pp. 110-123.*

*R. Barwell to Thomas Rumbold; Calcutta, 15 November 1772.*

Acknowledges receipt of letters of 14 December 1771, 15 March and 8 April 1772. He first answers some questions concerning Rumbold's business concerns in India. "Your bills in favour of Gourlarde to the amount of 40,000 £ sterling have been accepted. I wish you had negotiated three times the amount for your own sake, for I really perceive not any probability of remittances hence to realize yours or Charlton's property."

Account of his disputes with Hastings in Council about the delay in the despatch of the ship Prince of Wales. Asks Rumbold to inspect the records of the Board for full details, "for it may be of material consequence to me, should Mr. Hastings and the Madras Junto attempt to depreciate me in the publick opinion, or poison the minds of the Directors. I have been warned that my ill-wishers attribute to me a disposition to controversy. .... As you are now behind the curtain, you cannot be ignorant of the orders we have received per Lapwing. The method of executing them has indeed been curious. The fear of not doing enough, I apprehend, has led to the other extream in regard to Mahomed Reza Caun and Shitabroy. Both the Nabob and the Rajah have been under restraint these 6 months, and not a charge exhibited beyond the general ones mentioned in the Company's letter, or examination entered upon. To inflict the severest punishment (depriving men of liberty and of character) upon a presumption of maladministration in office, and to leave the proof to be found that shall establish it, is doubtless a most tyrannic proceedure (*sic*), but how greatly is it aggravated, when, after repeated advertisements at the publick Cutcherries through the Province for complaints against the Naib Dewans, an examination of such as may have been laid before the Governor is not commenced. Upon the consultations of September an application made by his Excellency for to remove the Guard.....is noted if not recorded at length, and the Board's denial of his request. The Governor then asked him (in consequence) by letter if he chose that an examination into his conduct should be entered upon immediately. The reply to the Governor's letters, though received by him these 6 weeks, has never been before the

Board. I give them to your perusal. All Shitabroy's applications to the Governor have been private and have all been kept very snug, not one of them having as yet appeared to the Board.....I do suppose the day that is to restore him to liberty is not afar off. To a friend on whose influence my future fortunes depend, I will speak without reserve or disguise. My thoughts, in truth, are these. His Honour [is], I suspect, inclined to make the best bargain he can for himself, and at the same time establish a reputation for austere severity by the exemplary justice he will appear to do. The part I lay out for him is this, to bring on an examination of the two Naib Dewans, at the same time, and release the Rajah to raise hopes by that means and encourage all those hopes in the Nabob and, having drained the Nabob to the last farthing, to secure and consign the whole to oblivion, sacrifice the poor devil as a victim to justice."

"The orders respecting the ready money purchases which composed the cargoes of the ships in '70 and '71 are answered by the list of the Vendors' names sent home on some of the ships of those years. Therefore nothing has been done in it here.

The cotton forced on the Zemindars appears in the revenue accounts, particularly in those of Bellericah, the Division of Radshi, of which Mr. Rous was collector. A cess of 30,000 Rs. thirty thousand, is there put down collected to make up the claim of the cotton vendors on the Zemindars, and, though this is well known by the Governor, yet, to keep in such a man as Aldersey, and controul his Council by fear, the order for the dismission (*sic*) of those members of the Council who were paid a profit on their cotton from the land Revenue, or you may say from the Company's Treasury, for it is just the same, is suspended, when every reason that has weight influences the Governor to execute it. You know how I am circumstanced with respect to Aldersey, and how invidious a task it would be for me to move for his ejection, besides, it might not avail, the Governor predetermined to support him. It therefore must be done (if it is to be done) from England, and as the transaction appears in the Mofussul papers in the books of Sundry Accounts sent from Muxadavad, you have very sufficient ground to proceed upon both for obstructing Russell's negotiations and the removal of the last Madrasser remaining on this establishment, measures that will prove extremely grateful to almost every servant belonging to the Bengal Presidency."

He then describes the removal of the Khalsa to Calcutta, and repeats his reasons for considering the new scheme of inspection by the members of the Council in monthly rotation to be impracticable. This was the occasion of his first disagreement with Hastings. Then he takes up military questions. "The recall of Captain Harper from the Court of the

Vizier, in direct opposition to the Vizier's request, may, indeed, tend to establish an opinion of the little deference with which he is treated, and encourage his enemies to build expectations on his declining influence with the English, whereas to have permitted Harper to continue in the character of a private gentleman with the Vizier was most assuredly no great favour. The Governor, Mr. Hastings, never has sent his publick letters through Captain Harper, or employed him in any respect as the English resident, indeed he was never publickly named to that station by the Council, though he was employed in that light for a few months in Mr. Verelst's Government, and through the whole of Mr. Cartier's, and looked upon as such by the Company, as is evident by the Lapwing's letter, wherein they express themselves highly satisfied with Captain Harper's services in the Cabinet."

After expressing his opinion that this was an impolitick move, he continues, "Much I have heard and much will be said to warp the judgement of the Company, with respect to our connections with Sujah Dowlah, such as that we have nothing to ask of him, he has of us ; we do not want his aid, he wants ours, and without it cannot exist ; that he is not so weak a Prince as to throw himself into the power of ours and his own natural enemies, and therefore of necessity will ever be our friend. But to this, it may with great reason be objected the necessity on which we place so great a reliance may not strike him, and we may be mistaken. We are, in that case, without an ally, the strength of our enemy increased and ours proportionately diminished by the Vizier's disaffection. For these reasons it is certainly necessary to keep Sujah Dowlah in temper, though I do not see any occasion for supporting him in an offensive war."

He again suggests detaching some of the Sepoy battalions to become auxiliaries under the Vizier. The letter concludes with an account of the reported union of the Marathas with the Jauts and the Rohillas, against the Vizier and, lastly, the Governor's appointment of Raja Gourdass, the son of Nundcomar, to the station of Naib Subah. "Why the Governor should preclude all choice, and put it on the footing of accepting his nomination or rejecting it, is to me, unintelligible. I am sure my proposition, though not relished, was very fair, and could only except improper characters. And as the Council was not to have elected the person who was to have filled the station, but only approved a number of men proper for it, leaving the choice out of that number to the Governor, why should it be objected to." Leaves it to Rumbold's discretion to circulate the letter and accompanying papers among friendly Directors.

P.S. "Since the above, the S[elect] C[ommittee] have informed the Board that upon repeated application from the Vizier, they have ordered

a Brigade to join his forces, in case the Morattas should presume to enter his country, an event, however, which the Committee do not expect. The S[elect] C[ommittee] at the same time inform the Board the Vizier has particularly repeated his request for the 19th Battalion of Sepoys with Captain Harper to remain near his person, and that they have refused compliance. (The Committee was composed of Mr. Hastings, General Barker and Aldersey, the 1<sup>st</sup> and last were against and the General for a compliance with Sujah Dowlah's desire). Upon what principle they will vindicate this wanton mortification of S[ujah] D[owlah] I cannot conceive, for it as equally distresses the service as well as mortifies him. The 19th Battalion is now at the scene of action. To march another to replace it is not only attended with some thousand R[uppees] expence, but the men of the relief, after so long a march as from Patna to Fyzabad will not be immediately in order for field service, should occasion require it. When no troops were to remain in S[ujah] D[owlah]'s country, there was, indeed, a plea for ordering Harper's Battalion to repair to the Brigade to which it belonged, but now there is to be troops, the pretext for its recall does not exist, and the only argument now urged is the levity which would appear if the former order was to be suspended and Harper continued with his battalion near the Vizier. In short, at all risks, Harper's recall was predetermined and it has been effected in the most exceptionable manner."

The postscript ends with a reference to his attempts to persuade the Board to consider the great debt on the Company, and the Governor's refusal to take any action.

*Letter 38. pp. 123-124.*

*R. Barwell to his sister Mary ; 8 December 1772.*

"Mr. Sulivan, from some inquiries he made of Mr. Barton, I find believes you to be what you really are, my confidant and negotiator. I mention this circumstance, because, if Roger and you should conceive any private overture proper to insure to me *the object*, that you might be the channel of such overture, and remember it must be oral, for no other mode is eligible.

.....Roger's letter is sealed. He will however show it you, and you will perceive that I would not have my friends hesitate for a few thousands. My pretensions are good, and, as many objections may be started to Hastings' Government, the task is not by any means impracticable, if such a man as Sulivan was thoroughly interested in its accomplishment. .

You must be very cautious respecting the enclosed letter from the King of Hindostan to the King of England, by the hands of Major Morrison. The purport is of that nature that it may probably affect the

India Stocks. The *prior grant* made to the Company is in perpetuity, that [but?] in the present temper of the times, it is impossible to say what advantage the Government may take of Major Morrison's scheme."

The letter finishes with a request that all the papers be shown to Roger, Hawkesworth, and to Beaumont in so far as they might influence his management of Barwell's money in the India funds. P.S. "Should our family sell out and the India Stock fall considerably, which it possibly may do, I think they might benefit themselves by purchasing when it is low."

*Letter 39. pp. 124-125.*

*R. Barwell to Henry Frederick Thompson<sup>s</sup>; Calcutta, 25 January 1773.*

Enclosing an order on his attorneys as requested from China, and sending news of Mrs. Thompson.

*Letter 40. pp. 125-126.*

*R. Barwell to Anselm Beaumont & Ralph Leycester; undated.*

Enclosing a letter of credit on them, for Mr. Henry Frederick Thompson, to advance him £300, on demand, and a similar sum if he stays more than one year in England though Barwell has no great hopes of his success there.

*Letter 41. p. 126.*

*R. Barwell to Anselm Beaumont & Ralph Leycester; Calcutta, 8 December 1772.*

Enclosing a Bill of Exchange on the Company for £4,100 and asking that they will advance £20,000 in cash or stocks to either Roger or Mary Barwell should they apply for it.

*Letter 42. pp. 128-132.*

*R. Barwell to his brother Roger; Calcutta, 25 January 1773.*

An account of Roger's business affairs in India, and the difficulties of recovering amounts due to him from his banian Narsing, who offers an unsatisfactory settlement of the debt due from him "but he is as obstinate as a mule and what can I do with him? He is a much greater man than I am and, besides his connection with his Honor, Middleton would be offended if I was to exercise any authority here, so that I can only threaten and temporize". He intends to close Narsing's account as far as possible

Barwell was involved in an unpleasant scandal with Thompson's wife.

and leave Roger to decide whether or not to go to law with him, and discusses his arrangements for handling and remitting Roger's monies to England. He concludes by saying, "As to myself, I have written pretty fully on all publick matters in which I have engaged, and am come to this resolution, to wait in India untill I have answers from you and my sister Mary, in the meantime, to realise if it be practicable, 70,000£ sterling and to send home to you by the channel in which I shall adventure to remit my own property, yours likewise. This effected, should my prospects in the service then appear unfavourable it is my intention to return to England."

*Letter 43. p. 133.*

*R. Barwell to Robert Gregory; Calcutta, 26 February 1773.*

Concerning the Commission from the Court of Chancery on the suit depending between Nundcomar and Burdett. The cause of the delay in its execution is largely Nundcomar's slowness in producing his evidence—"he has advanced fifty excuses for this delay."

*Letter 44. p. 134.*

*R. Barwell to Anselm Beaumont; Calcutta, 26 February 1773.*

Chiefly concerning Beaumont's business affairs. "The difficulty which has attended remittances makes me wish you had hit on the plan pursued by Mr. Rumbold, as one of his attorneys I have had the pleasure to accept and discharge on his account drafts to the amount of forty odd thousand pounds sterling negotiated by the house of Bourdieu and Chollet." There has one channel of late opened for remittances and that is China, but the risk of the sea as well as the persons to whom you must intrust it at interest or at Respondentia are such deterring obstacles that I have hitherto only adventured a small sum that way. I think it, however, the best mode which has yet been struck out and would push much that way if I was not fearfull of a disappointment. The China Supercargoes stationed there by the Company are not pleased with money being thrown in this manner into the Canton Treasury, but from what cause their displeasure arises I cannot imagine unless they have reaped a clandestine benefit (by the Company importing bullion) under the name of emoluments which will be lost to them upon the payment being made in the currency of the country. The settlements of India are now in a fair train of supplying the Chinese with commercial articles instead of bullion for our home imports."

\* London merchants who transacted much business with the French East India Company.

*Letter 45. p. 135.*

*R. Barwell to Thomas Rumbold ; Calcutta, 26 February 1773.*

Asking him to help Colonel Morgan in his application for redress to the Court of Directors.

*Letter 46. p. 135.*

*R. Barwell to Laurence Sullivan ; Calcutta, 26 February 1773.*

Asking him to assist Colonel Morgan in his claim to the Directors.

*Letter 47. p. 136.*

*R. Barwell to Roger Barwell ; Calcutta, 26 February 1773.*

Asking him to assist Colonel Morgan.

*Letter 48. p. 138.*

*R. Barwell to Anselm Beaumont ; Calcutta, 26 February 1773.*

Asking him to advance such sums as he may need to Colonel Morgan, on his arrival in England. Expects he may need "a thousand or two". Copy of Beaumont's account with Barwell. (pp. 136-37).

*Letter 49. pp. 138-140.*

*R. Barwell to Francis Charlton ; Calcutta, 26 February 1773.*

Concerning Charlton's business affairs in India, in particular the problem of remittance. Refers him to Rumbold for news of public affairs.

*Letter 50. pp. 140-146.*

*A. Barwell to Thomas Rumbold ; Calcutta, 3 March 1773.*

He points out, first, that ill-health has prevented his giving such constant attention to public affairs over the past five months as he could have wished; because of this, he asks Rumbold to refute any suggestions which may be made to the Directors, that he is absenting himself "because I was fearfull of giving offence by advancing opinions opposite to the known inclinations and wishes of a man who had established a despotic influence over his Council". "You have already been informed of the Resolution of the Committee to support the Vizier's cause with a full third of our forces. Colonel Champion, in consequence, has marched with the first Brigade, and is now encamped above Cawnpore. I do not, however, imagine the Morattahs will attempt to take possession of the Provinces of Corrah and Currah (*sic*), when they find the English Government determined to oppose their encroachments." He then discusses the Marathas' claim that the King [the Mughal] has assigned the provinces to them, which

he considers absurd, and without any validity. The King had no right to hand over these provinces because of his relationship with the Company. It would be the extreme of weakness in the Government to recognize an extorted assignment from a prisoner King. The Company cannot disapprove of this reasoning "however deficient they may deem the conduct of their Council, in not taking the cautionary measures that might have obviated their being involved in a scene of difficulties which in all probability is approaching. And, indeed, when the whole political conduct of Suja Ul Dowlah is impartially traced, it is wonderful to me our Government has been so supine. No sooner was the Treaty of '65 executed, which gave to the King an establishment at Eliabad, it appeared to be a source of jealousy to the Vizier, and though Benaras and Gauzipoor were restored to him by that Treaty, for the grant of Eliabad and Corah, it is evident he has regarded it as a temporary expedient, and his subsequent negotiations to obtain them back from the King very plainly demonstrate what are his ideas of the right which the English Company may possibly conceive they have, and probably may not chuse to relinquish without such compensation as they may judge adequate to the cession of it".

After expressing his opinion that the Vizier will not persevere in his scheme, he continues,

"Our Government, on the King's departure for the Morattah camp, neither interfered or proposed any security to itself for the present dilemma. The King was left to make what arrangements he thought proper, and no check or power was reposed with our Government to prevent a misapplication of the revenues of Corah, etc. or a misadministration which might materially affect those interests which the Company may possible conceive they have (by having given up too valuable a province as Gauzipore for Corah). In Corah, etc. old Mineir Ul Dowlah, as the King's agent, now receives the rents of Corah, Eliabad, etc. and administers the Government. Yet in opposition to the King and mandate he is in the field with 10,000 horse, for this express purpose, to prevent the Morattahs taking from him that trust which the King has transferred to them."

After criticisms of the inertia of the Government.

"The Company may likewise judge that when the end to which they directed their bounty cannot be answered, that they have a right to resumption, at least that no one can have a right to the bounty but the object of it, and that whether it is Meneir Ul Dowlah, Suja Dowlah, or who else administers the Government of Corah, etc., he should be amenable and accountable to them for the application of the publick revenue." On further disagreements between him and Hastings.

"You will find dispersed in many parts of our publick letters and

records, encomiums on the unremitting attention and labor of the President and Council. This is by way of softening to their own minds the omissions which upon the present system cannot be avoided." After referring to the new system of inspection of the Khalsa, the letter concludes with reference to the Company's revenue. "The present ballance of this year's revenue is only the trifling sum of 60 lacs of Rupees. This proceeds partly from the lateness of the settlement, but in the greatest measure is to be imputed to a defective mode of superintendence in the Khalsa."

*Letter 51. pp. 147.*

*R. Barwell to Lord Clive; Calcutta, 3 March 1773.*

Expressing his regret that he had not found favour with Clive in the past. Now encouraged by his friend Beaumont he dares to write offering himself and all his family connexion as well-wishers. Begs for a reply.

*Letter 52. pp. 147-148.*

*R. Barwell to Sir George Colebrooke<sup>10</sup>; Calcutta, 2 March 1773.*

Introducing himself. His friends tell him that Colebrooke has shown "obliging inclinations . . . to my pretensions". Will not trouble him with a confidential correspondence until he hears it would be welcome.

*Letter 53. pp. 148-149.*

*R. Barwell to his sister Mary; Calcutta, 3 March 1773.*

He refers her to his letter to Rumbold for a detailed account of publick matters.

"Let not the rumour of war in these parts influence you or any of the family to sell India Stock at a loss, but rather if the stock falls considerably, and they have money to purchase, let them purchase, for the interest of the Company in Bengall are (*sic*) very secure."

*Letter 54. pp. 149-152.*

*R. Barwell to Thomas Rumbold; Calcutta, 31 March 1773.*

"Since my last letter by the Rockingham, nothing of moment has occurred except my moving the Board to reconsider the subject of their Resolution of 10th September last, touching the reduction of the rate of interest on the Company's Bond Debt, which I mentioned in my correspondence to Europe I would revive, if it was not taken up before the despatch of the last ship. I in consequence brought it before the Board the

<sup>10</sup> Sir George Colebrooke, Bt. M. P., a leading Director of the Company. In 1773 Chairman.

25th instant, by recording the enclosed minute.<sup>11</sup> The premium which Company's notes bear is therein fixed at the rate of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  and 2 per cent at which they have fluctuated for this month past. I did not put down the utmost they had been sold for, that it might not be objected it was the premium of a day, though I could have instanced many offers for the purchase of notes at a higher premium, particularly one of Mr. Kellican's [Killican] to me for the purchase of forty thousand Rupees at an advance of  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per cent.

I am concerned to say upon the reading of my minute, many obstacles were immediately raised to the practicability of the scheme, and that even those gentlemen who composed the Board the 10 September have now their doubts. It was urged against the measure, and much insisted upon, that the Company could not partially undertake the discharge of their debt, but must, if they adopted the plan, make an equal dividend among all the Bond holders. The futility of this objection, I reply'd was so obvious that I was surprised to hear it advanced, and asked if there was any law or usage of merchants that precluded them from discharging the debts they had contracted in such proportion as suited their convenience and ability."

He compares the position of the Company with that of any individual merchant, in the same situation. "In short, I said, raise a fund and do not condemn the measure before you attempt to execute it. The Company, by the tryal, cannot possibly lose anything, and may obtain a great deal. Much more was said which I cannot now recollect, further than being expressive of a general dissatisfaction, and that I had assumed that to myself which was in fact due to the whole Board, as the liquidation of the whole debt at interest had been long and at different times the object of their wishes. As I make no doubt of success attending the measure, if the Government will heartily adopt it, so the failure of it, I apprehend, rests with the Government. My opinion is founded on the probable effects of known causes which may be made to operate in favour of the views of the Government. 1st, the interest of every merchant leads him to give his utmost assistance on this occasion to Government, because agreeably to the extent in which he can effect a reduction of interest in the only publick and secure fund, he ascertains to himself a proportionate decrease of the premium on private loans. 2nd, all persons who chuse to lodge their property with [the] Company, and are influenced by such wish to purchase up the old notes running at 8 per cent, by giving an advanced premium of  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per cent may in general be induced to pay their

<sup>11</sup> Not in the Letter-Book.

money into the treasury for notes at 5 per cent, the difference being trifling. But this depends much on the endeavours of the Members of the Board, it resting with them to give suitable encouragement to people who may be so well disposed, or by disregard and inattention to them to check their inclination to aid the Government. 3rd, the large property which is lodged in the Company's cash, and awaits only an opportunity of remittance, from the positive injunctions of the proprietors, must remain in the publick Treasury until a remittance can be effected, (a scheme of [sic] which would scarce be perfected in two or three years), secures to the Government a suspension from any immediate demand for the property so lodged, amounting at this instant to about 80 lacs of rupees. It may therefore be computed, allowing for remittances in course of the ensuing year, and for rising fortunes to replace such drafts, that the Government may depend upon 70 lacs at least for the 18 months, at such rate of interest as may be judged equitable. This period of time most certainly gives the Government every advantage that can result from the management of such large property at its devotion. Further, to insure success to any measure which may be resolved, 15 lacs was proposed to be appropriated from the balance of the Calcutta and Revenue Treasury (this day 2,705,243) and 15 lacs more from Salt contracts, insuring to Government altogether the sum of one hundred lacs. The Company's debt amounts to one hundred and thirty lacs—There remains then to be provided thirty lacs. For four of that sum I expressly engage myself to Government, and will, I hope, be able to increase it to 10 lacs—Twenty lacs thus rests with the Government to raise, a matter which I should not imagine of such very great difficulty as to obstruct the execution of any plan to be resolved on for lowering to 8 to 5 per cent the interest premium on the Company's debt."

He then recounts his reading of a minute regarding Suja Ul Dowlah to Mr. Hastings, and the assurance given by the latter that this matter had engaged the attention of the Select Committee, and would be presented to the Council as soon as the subject was completed.

The letter concludes with a reference to the Marathas, who for the present were quiet, and to the season's investment.

*Letter 55. pp. 153-159.*

*R. Barwell to John Purling; Calcutta, 31 March 1773.*

This repeats his report of affairs, as in letter 54 to T. Rumbold, with additional comments on the unsatisfactory method of superintendence of the revenues, as now carried out by the Members of the Board in monthly rotation. *P.S.* "The same was sent to Mr. Savage."

*Letter 56. pp. 160-166.*

*R. Barwell to Robert Gregory; Calcutta, 29 March 1773.*

An account of public affairs and his part in them closely resembling that given in letters 54 and 55.

L. S. SUTHERLAND

*Erratum*

In Part I of this article published in *ante* Volume VII, No. 2, on page 127 for John Charlton *read* Francis Charlton.

## THE MUGHAL ARCHIVES

UNDER the Imperial Mughals all official transactions were committed to paper, on account of which the administration was in a limited degree a paper government (*Kāghazi rāj*).<sup>1</sup> Durability of paper was short-lived, as compared to steles, copper-plates and palm-leaves, which were the writing materials of other Indian royal houses from hoary antiquity. But in the sphere of archives keeping, as in other government matters, the Mughals were indebted to the administrative methods of the Abbaside Caliphate of Baghdad and the Fatimide Caliphate of Cairo.

### *Format of Documents*

Mughal archives had special characteristics in regard to the paper, ink, lining, size, calligraphy, seals and envelopes.

The capitals had suburbs called "Kāghazipura," where coarse paper was manufactured for routine official use. Paper of good quality was made, among other places, at Lahore, Sialkot, Rajgir (Bihar), Aurangabad and Ahmedabad. But the Emperors invariably patronised Kashmiri paper of a fine quality. Even Shivāji was fascinated by the prevalent Muslim practice. For in the inventory of his treasure, prepared under the orders of Sambhāji, are included 11,000 quires of *Zar-āfshāni* paper (sprinkled with gold dust), 20,000 of Balapuri make, 2,000 of Daulatabadi variety and 32,000 quires of white paper. While in Surat, during 1689, Ovington noticed that Indian paper for ordinary use was slick, smooth and shining. However the paper used for addressing the Mughal Emperor and high officials was ornamented with "gilt on all the surface,.....with small flowers interspersed here and there".<sup>2</sup> The concept of variegated papers and sands for strewing on them was also known to the Mughals.<sup>3</sup> Gloss was imparted to writing paper by an admixture of gum arabic and Indian ink.

The pigment-like Indian ink was perfected in the Mughal age. Besides limning and colouring, it was required for documentation. Ovington avers that the pen was "as thick as a large goose quill" and the "standishes" (ink-stands) "long and square", above an inch in breadth,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sarkar, J. N., *Mughal Administration*, p. 10 (4th ed. 1952).

<sup>2</sup> Sarkar, J. N., *Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign*, p. 282 (ed. 1933); Sarkar, J. N., *House of Shivaji*, p. 189 (2nd ed. 1948); Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1618-21, pp. 76, 192. Ahmedabad also exported to Persia; Ovington, J., *A Voyage to Surat in the year 1689*, pp. 249-50 (London, 1696).

<sup>3</sup> *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, 34, p. 107 (2nd ed. 1939).

enough to hold two pens and a place for ink.<sup>4</sup> As will be seen presently, efficient calligraphists were presented with jewelled pens and ink-stands.

*Mistars* were employed by copyists to achieve uniformity in writing. A *Mistar* was a paste-board with threads pinned horizontally at equal distance. When placed below a blank sheet and pressed with palms, it produced a linear embossment.

The average size and shape of the documents always varied. Small *Shuqqas* were sometimes 4" x 3½", official orders on cream coloured paper were 14" x 6", 8" x 4½" and 7" x 7"; Court bulletins measured 10" x 4"; and Royal farmans on cream woven paper were of the size 27" x 9" and 36" x 18".<sup>5</sup> There were obviously other bigger documents in the form of registers. Manrique, as will be seen later on, consulted in 1640 at Rajmahal, a register of "folio size and more than two fingers thick". Ovington noticed that the "paper books" were "long schrowls of paper sometimes Ten Foot in length and a Foot Broad sowed together at the upper end", to which as many long sheets could be joined as were required.<sup>6</sup>

Beautiful calligraphy was yet another important feature of the documents. Calligraphers skilled in Persian and Arabic soon obtained royal patronage. The ornamental Persian calligraphy called *Khat-i-Tughra*, at the top of Farmans, was designed in *surq* (red) or *sunhera* (golden) colour. Babar is credited with *Khat-i-Babari*. Another type was the *Shikasta*. Eight kinds of calligraphy prevalent in Iran, Turan, India and Turkey were soon patronised by Akbar. They were—Suls, Tauqi, Muhaqqaq, Naskh, Rayhān, Riqa (Ghubār), Tā'liq and Nastā'liq.<sup>7</sup> Babar, Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah II were themselves excellent calligraphists. This art formed an important part of the royal education. Prince Dara Shikoh and princess Zeb-un-nisa were the pupils of the calligraphist Aqa Abdur Rashid. Indeed this princess could write with grace Nastā'liq, Naskh and Shikasta. Prince Aurangzeb's handwriting was supervised by the Imperial Librarian, Syed Ali Tabrizi. Moreover the Emperors entertained a galaxy of excellent calligraphists at the Court and honoured them with gifts and titles. For instance when presenting the calligraphist Shaikh Farid Bukhari with a robe of honour, a bejewelled sword and a bejewelled ink-stand and pen and confirming him as *Mir*

<sup>4</sup> Ovington, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

<sup>5</sup> *Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign*, p. 11 (Hyderabad, 1950); Progs. of the I.H.R.C. 1920, Vol. II, p. 6; and the Mughal official letters and Imperial Farmans preserved in the U.P. Central Record Office, Allahabad.

<sup>6</sup> Ovington, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

<sup>7</sup> *A'in*, I, 34, pp. 105-106. Khwaja Amin-ud-Din Muhammad of Hirat, a follower of Humayun in exile, was expert in Shikasta (*Akbar Namah*, I, 222, p. 449, ed. 1902). Technically this is Shafi'a. A detailed account of the Mughal calligraphists deserves separate treatment.

*Bakshi*, the Emperor Jahangir said: "I regard thee as *Sahibu-s-saif-wa-l-qalam*" (Lord of the Sword and the Pen).<sup>8</sup>

Of Mughal sigillography, the seals and sign-manual may be noticed here. Official correspondence between the Emperor and princes was sealed and not signed. Imperial seals bore the Royal name on a surface of gold, silver, cornelian and steel. The Emperor's *Uzuk* (*Auzak*), a small circular signet with his name, stamped the most secret and urgent orders (*Farman-i-sabtis*). In Shah Jahan's reign there was a *Dārogha* in charge of this *Uzuk*. But his Empress, and for a while Jahanara Begum, also had its custody. A large round seal with the Emperor's name in the centre and his dynastic pedigree up to Timur in circle, was adopted in the beginning exclusively for correspondence with foreign potentates; but later its use was extended to other farmans.<sup>9</sup> Abul Fazl affirms that the royal seal was marked above the Tughra lines.<sup>10</sup> But many instances are found where this seal is stamped parallel to the Tughra on its right, with the names of the Emperor (and his father) in the middle and his ancestors names in a circular shape. Jahangir changed the nomenclature of his red seal, used for Jagir grants, from *altamgha* to *altun tamgha*.<sup>11</sup> He appears to have even impressed the exterior of his documents with the seals of the figures of Jesus and the Virgin.<sup>12</sup> There was also a Royal *Muhrdār* (Keeper of the Seal).<sup>13</sup> Among other seals were—a square royal seal for miscellaneous orders, special seraglio seals, arch-like (*mihrābi*) judiciary seals and wooden seals (*Cchāps*) for merchandise. Farmans, parwanchas and barats were rolled from the bottom into several folds and sealed at prescribed places by various officials from the Wazir downwards. Gum of trees like kunar, bar, pipal etc. provided the sealing wax. After the imperial order was impressed on a secret order, it was folded and resealed on its two meeting edges by a strip of paper.<sup>14</sup>

The Emperor's sign-manual was the auspicious "blessed *Panja*" (five fingers).<sup>15</sup> It was stamped on the farmans addressed to potentates and

<sup>8</sup> *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. I, p. 13 (Tr. and ed., Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. I, 1909; Vol. II, 1914).

<sup>9</sup> *A'in*, I, 20, pp. 54-55; Ovington, *op-cit.*, 249; *Tuzuk*, I, p. 18; Asaf Khan Abul Hasan held this post in the 1st year of Shah Jahan, *Fehrist Umarai Khandan-i-Taimuria*, fol. I (U.P. Regional Records Survey Committee's collection, Ms. no. 551); Sarkar, *Mugh. Adm.* p. 225; Progs. of I.H.R.C. III (1921), p. 19.

<sup>10</sup> *A'in*, I, 13, pp. 273-4.

<sup>11</sup> *Tuzuk*, I, p. 23; "I ordered that they should cover the place for the seal with gold leaf.....and impress the seal thereon and I called this *altun tamgha*."

<sup>12</sup> Maclagan, E., *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 70 (London, 1932). For a representation of Jesus in a seal prepared by a slave in Jahangir's seal cutting department, see *Tuzuk*, II, pp. 200-1.

<sup>13</sup> *Akbar Namah*, I, 120, p. 281 (ed. 1902). Kicak Khwaja held this post in Babar's reign.

<sup>14</sup> *A'in* I, 20, p. 54; 13, pp. 273-74; Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1637-41, p. 225.

<sup>15</sup> *Tuzuk*, I, p. 273.

princes "for an assurance of peace or other binding promises," announcements of territorial gifts and "grants of villages, lands, houses etc." and for all important matters. A small seal was used in other affairs. Just below the royal seal, the Emperor impressed the shape of his palm dipped in vermillion, and the Chief Wazir's counter seal followed.<sup>16</sup> A rubber estampage of this palm was always carried in a bag hung from the Emperor's right arm-pit.<sup>17</sup>

Diplomatic bags, envelopes and skippets of metal or bamboo served as document receptacles. Like the secret farman, a report was put in a well secured "bag" to prevent tampering. This bag or *Kharita* was made of silk, "gold or silver cloth".<sup>18</sup> In Akbar's reign a farman was closed in a "golden cover".<sup>19</sup> The 'Head' or 'Cover' in Ovington's days was "two inches long". This cover with its enclosed letter to the Emperor or principal Ministers, was inserted at the end of a large hollow bamboo one foot long and sealed at the joint so that the letter inside could not be removed "without breaking the seal". The letter remained impervious to rain and handling in a tedious journey and reached the destination in its original neatness.<sup>20</sup> Despatches were also enclosed in metallic cylinders (*nālo*).<sup>21</sup>

### *Beginnings of Archives*

Records had their origin in the official transactions. To begin with, there were the court proceedings. A report in Akbar's Court is noticed by Du Jarric: "the King is.....attended by a number of secretaries, whose duty is to record every word that he speaks".<sup>22</sup> Abul Fazl mentions similar functions of the News-writers (*Wāqia-navises*): "Their duty is to write down the orders and doings of H.M. and whatever the heads of the departments report." Akbar's court entertained 14 such News-writers. But they did duty in relays, only two working every day. Their daily report was revised by a clerk, approved by the Emperor and entered in the weekly register.<sup>23</sup> Du Jarric, on the other hand, refers to a number of secretaries. Moreover the court affairs are mentioned in two different

<sup>16</sup> Manucci, Niccolao, *Storia do Mogor*, III, pp. 231-2 (Tr. W. Irvine, Lond. 1907); *ibid.*, II, p. 388 (Lond. 1907).

<sup>17</sup> Sarkar, *Mugh.* *Adm.* p. 221.

<sup>18</sup> *A'in*, I, 13, p. 274; *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by its own Historians*, IV, p. 405; Fryer, John, *A New Account of East India and Persia* 1672-81, p. 140 (London, 1698).

<sup>19</sup> *A'in*, I, 13, p. 274.

<sup>20</sup> Ovington, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

<sup>21</sup> *Hidayat-ul-Qawa'id*, pp. 51-5; Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

<sup>22</sup> Du Jarric, Pierre, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, p. 11 (Tr. C. H. Payne, Lond. 1926).

<sup>23</sup> *A'in*, I, 10, pp. 268-9. If one of the two clerks was drafted on to other work, a substitute was recruited. The *Akbar Namah* states that the appointment of these 14 clerks was made in Akbar's 19th R. Y. (A.D. 1574).

accounts, the *Siyāha Huzūr* (Imperial Dairy) recording the daily happenings, royal programmes and administrative matters; and the *Siyāha wa'qai* (Record of Events) mentioning all noteworthy incidents of the week.<sup>24</sup>

Secondly, the official reports also had archive quality. When the Emperor was in the palace, the officers outside had to send written reports "into the *Mahal*" of all that he "ought to know". The women officials of the *Mahal* replied these reports "as directed" by the Emperor and verbally conveyed his orders to the awaiting officials.<sup>25</sup> The monthly letters of the captains reporting "anything new they had seen or heard" were read by Akbar after finishing his other business and before retiring to bed.<sup>26</sup> Shah Jahan, after sunset, also spent the rest of the night in "hearing read out" any letters or documents that came.<sup>27</sup> The weekly letters of the *Wāqia-navis* and *Khufia-navis* were read to Aurangzeb about 9 p.m. by the women officials of his *Mahal* for keeping him informed of the happenings in his territories.<sup>28</sup>

Thirdly, the correspondence of the princes and officials was also another valuable source. Shah Jahan himself replied important letters in the *Diwan-i-Khas*. He expressed oral orders on the cases submitted by the Wazir, representatives of the Subahdars and agents of the nobles and the secretaries (*Munshis*) prepared the letters. When the draft for approval was put up, he corrected and improved it. Aurangzeb's court procedure as described in the *Alangir namah* was similar. He worked in the hall of Public Audience (*Diwan-i-am*) from 9-15 till 11 a.m. Among other things, he perused the despatches of the princes, governors and provincial officials put up by courtiers enjoying his confidence and heard the gist of the rest from the Wazir. An hour before noon he took up confidential work in the hall of Private Audience (*Diwan-i-Khas*), attended by select courtiers. Important despatches were replied to and verbal orders given for drafting answers to others. The drafts were approved by the word 'sad' (correct). In some cases the Emperor himself wrote the first few lines to ensure the authenticity of the despatch or exalt the addressee.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign*, pp. 33-50, 118-21, 130-1; Manucci, *op. cit.*, II, p. 331. The *Wa'qia* contained details of the following: Emperor's daily programme, acts of charity, vows, appointments, grants, papers signed etc; reports received and minutes thereon; battles, victories, and peace; obituary; proceedings of the general assemblies; natural phenomena, and report on events.

<sup>25</sup> Manucci, *op. cit.*, II, p. 331.

<sup>26</sup> Du Jarric, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

<sup>27</sup> *Travels of Fray Sebastien Manrique*, 1629-1643, Vol. II, p. 275 (Tr. Luard and Hosten, Oxford, 1937, Hakluyt).

<sup>28</sup> Manucci, *op. cit.*, II, p. 331. Employment of women inside the palace for the "same offices" as of the grandees outside, which Manucci describes, was also common in Akbar's palace. Cf. *A'in*, I, 154, p. 46.

<sup>29</sup> Sarkar, *Studies*, pp. 33-34; Sarkar, *Mugh. Adm.*, pp. 17-18, 219-27.

The "letter books" of the Secretaries (*Munshis*) were also an adjunct of archives. The *Munshis* kept copies of these drafts and of their own letters as examples of literary excellence for the education of their children. When a sufficiently voluminous collection was formed, it was bound, recopied and distributed to friends and relatives. Such a publication was also issued, after their demise, by their sons or admirers. Other anthologies in turn recopied and incorporated the valuable letters. These "letter books" have thus preserved many important despatches. In this connection it may be mentioned that all royal letters were drafted according to the convention. Their preamble, preface, text and date were carefully worded in classical language. The paramount titles and epithets were prescribed by the *Dastur-ul-amal* which was, if necessary, revised. The emperor and his family were not named but addressed by titles, e.g. *Firdaus*, *Makani* (Babar), *Arsh-āshyāni* (Akbar), *Ala Hazrat Firdaus-āshyāni* (Shah Jahan), *Mihir-puri-khilafat* (Dara Shikoh) etc. Even rebel princes were so addressed—*Baghi* (Muhammad Akbar). As a mark of respect to the Emperor and Princes (names were written at the top of the farman and not in its text). Official letters contained such terms like 'I have the honour to be your most obedient servant'. Finally the addressee received a farman with formalities, proceeding some distance to meet it. His *Munshi* then noted its date of receipt and perusal.

The fourth principal archival source was the *Akhbārat-i-darbār-i-mualla* (Court Bulletins). The despatches and reports received on the preceding day, were read in the *Diwan-i-am* on the morrow. *The Baharistan-i-Ghaibi* relates that for creating an impression on the Persian embassy that was expected Jahangir appointed News-writers in each Subah and ordered the "reading of their reports openly in the Emperor's Court".<sup>30</sup> These official letters, along with other Court affairs, were noted by the Court agents of viceroys, absent royal princes and the Court agents of feudatory princes and transmitted for the information of their masters. In this way there arose the *Akhbārat-i-darbār-i-mualla*. It contained a brief summary of the Court life and all current information. Averse to this system of news reporting, Aurangzeb issued a mandate on 25 September 1699, prohibiting it and imposing on the agents a security for their good conduct. Despite this the practice appears to have persisted. The *Akhbārat* of Prince Muhammad Shah's viceroyalty of Gujarat, now in the Royal Asiatic Society, London, and removed there probably from Jaipur, by James Tod, and that of Prince Bidar Bakht's governorship of Malwa, for 1681 to 1725, at present in the Jaipur archives, constitute the most

<sup>30</sup> Sarkar, *Mugh. Adm.*, p. 62.

important materials for Mughal history. From 1756, owing to the decline of the Mughal empire and the rise of feudatories, these news-sheets are marked by two features. First they do not record every affair but give copious details of "selected" news, and include in one report not one day's account, but that of many days or even a fortnight. Secondly, they change their nomenclature from *Akhbārat-i-darbār-i-mualla* to merely *Akhbār*, *Pārcha-i-akhbār*, *Sawanih*, *Ahwāl-i-taza* etc.<sup>31</sup>

Fifthly, there were the various departmental records, important stages in the formation of which were as follows:—

As seen earlier, the daily report of the *Wā'qia-navis* of the Imperial Court was entered in his *Wā'qia* after revision and approval. A clerk then made copies of each report. Before issuing it as a voucher, this copy was signed by the copyist, Parwanchi, Mir Arz and the Clerk who submitted it to the Emperor. In this completed form it was called the *Yāddāshṭ* (Abstract Memorandum). This now passed on to a copyist, who kept and prepared its summary (*Ta'līqa*). The summary was issued as a voucher, on being sealed by the copyist, *Wā'qia-navis*, Risaldar, Mir Arz, Dārogha and the Ministers of State.<sup>32</sup>

The value of the *Yāddāshṭ* as used especially in the official matters may be seen in the case of a Jagir grant. An application for a Jagir was made in the Court personally. The *Diwan-i-tan* (Minister for salaries) directed his office to prepare a *Haqiqat* (statement with details of the applicants' name, birth place and date of his *Nazr*). Then the *Diwan-i-tan* forwarded the statement to the *Dastur-ul-wuzara* (or *Diwan-i-āla*) the wazir who submitted it to the Emperor. When the Emperor approved, the P.M. endorsed the same on the *Haqiqat*. This paper now formed a voucher for the Chief Clerk of the *Diwan-i-tan* to prepare a *Siyaha-daul* (report on the donee's rank, retainers and pay of himself and followers according to the *Dastur-ul-amal-i-Zhat Mansāhdar* and the pargana from which he would draw the amount). The daul then went to the *Wā'qia-navis* for entry in his *Wā'qia* and preparation of a *Yāddāshṭ* for submission to the office of the *Arz-i-Mukarrar* (Confirmation of Orders), the main details of the *Haqiqat* and daul being included in it. This done, the Wazir ordered that the *Yāddāshṭ* be compared and verified with the *Wā'qia* and sent to the *Arz-i-Mukarrar*. The *Wā'qia-navis* confirmed it on the margin

<sup>31</sup> Sarkar, J. N., *The Missing Links in the History of Mughal India from 1658-1761*; Progs. of I.H.R.C. 1920, II, pp. 5-8; and *ibid.* *Historical Records relating to Northern India 1700-1817*, Progs. I.H.R.C. 1925, VII, pp. 27-35. See also Sri Ram Sharma, *A Bibliography of Mughal India*, p. 7 ff (Bombay, 1941), for the view that News-letters or Court bulletins were actually "Minutes" of the proceedings of the Mughal Emperor in Court. As these archives have no definite series and the method of noting the proceedings differed from that adopted in the East India Company's administration, it is not possible to agree with this view.

<sup>32</sup> *A'in*, I, 10, pp. 269-70.

of the *Yāddāshī* and the Dārogha of the confirmation office wrote its date of receipt. Thereafter it was put up to the Emperor and orders issued.<sup>33</sup> This *Yāddāshī* appeared on the obverse of the original farman itself.

And finally the contemporary Court Annals had also some archive value. Selected by the Sovereign, their authors had full access to the State archives. Since these works were ordered to be written, the Emperor read them page by page, revising himself or, if he wearied, by his Wazir. On completion copies were distributed to the Chief Courtiers. These chronicles end in 1709 ; and from 1712 till 1739 none was compiled, as the empire was in turmoil. Personal memoirs (*Taz-Kirah*), histories (*Tārikhs*) etc. however now began to crop up.<sup>34</sup>

#### *Information Service*

All current provincial information reached the Emperor through the *Wā'qia-navis*, *Khufia-navis* and *Harkarah*. The appointment of these *Akhbār-navis* was made by the Emperor and they were not responsible to any minister.<sup>35</sup> Reports to the Court were sent weekly by the *Wā'qia-navis*, bi-weekly by the *sāvanih-nigār* and monthly (as *Akhbār*) by the *Harkarah*.<sup>36</sup> A letter dated 3 March 1770, from Muhammad Riza Khan, Naib Nazim of Bengal, shows how important business was conducted by the appointment of three independent officers—the *Dārogha*, writer of Occurrences (*Wā'qia-navis*) and writer of Reports (*Sāvanih-nigār*) ; while many *Harkarahs* posted in different places spied on them and kept a secret diary of their activities.<sup>37</sup>

The Court's official notary or reporter of all important occurrences in a jurisdiction was the *Wā'qia-navis* or *Wā'qia-nigār*, posted in every army, large town and subah. His agents daily supplied him news of the Parganahs and Offices. He and the *Khufia-navis* accompanied embassies to foreign countries. Sometimes the same person held the post of *Bakshi*.

<sup>33</sup> *Sel. Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign*, pp. X-XI ; Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls* ; pp. 16-17 ; Sarkar, *Mugh. Adm.*, pp. 33-34 where *arz-i-mukarrar* is taken to mean the Wazir's orders "Bring to H.M.'s ears a second time."

<sup>34</sup> When writing the *Akbar Namah* Abul Fazl utilised the following materials—(i) The *Wā'qia* from the 19th R. Y. of Akbar ; (ii) Originals and Copies of the Orders issued to the provinces since Akbar's accession ; (iii) 'Reports' of Ministers and high officials on the affairs of the empire and foreign countries ; (iv) 'Rough notes and memoranda' of well-informed men. This formed the model for the later chronicles, e.g. *Padshah Namah* of Abdul Hamid and also another of the same name, by Muhammad Waris, in Shah Jahan's reign. But access to archives sometimes stopped due to the Sovereign's illness, as in the case of Muhammad Sahib Kambu's *Aml-i-Salih*, in the same reign. See also Sarkar, Progs. I.H.R.C. 1920, II, pp. 6-7 ; Sarkar, *The Histories of the Delhi Empire* ; *Aligarh Muslim University Journal*, III, no. I, pp. 393-400.

<sup>35</sup> *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Carey*, p. 26 (N.A.I. 1949). The term *Akhbār-navis* is used in Maratha records. See *Poona Akhbars*, Vol. I, p. 47 (Hyderabad, 1951).

<sup>36</sup> *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Sup. p. 175 (G. O. S., Baroda).

<sup>37</sup> *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, III, 106, 115.

and *Wā'qia-navis*. Thus functioned Abid Khan at Ahmedabad under Jahangir; while Amja' Khan was the *Bakshi* and *Wā'qia-nigār* of Akbarabad in Aurangzeb's reign. The provincial governor consulted him on important issues and the foreign merchants came to him with their grievances.<sup>38</sup>

*Sāvanīh-nigār* or *Khufia-navis* remained incognito. He was the special officer in important cases. He also acted as a spy of the *Wā'qia-navis*. According to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, this fact came into the limelight when he was entrusted with the supervision of postal services.<sup>39</sup>

Next to the *Wā'qia-navis* and "somewhat like him" was the *Harkarah*. His *Akhbār* noticed everything that was spoken, heard and done "whether of moment or of no account", irrespective of its truth or falsehood. He wrote with a 'soft pen' avoiding offence to the Emperor. The Subahdar also got his *Akhbār*.<sup>40</sup> His superior was the *Dārogha-i-Harkarah*.

All the reports were transmitted to the Court through the Superintendent of Post Offices (*Dārogha-i-dāk-Chauki*). Babar had established in 1528 the *Yams* (post houses) with couriers and horses. Akbar's 1000 *Dāk Mewras* were noted for their endurance. Khafi Khan reveals that such postmen were stationed "at every place". Pelsaert, in 1627, states that they existed in villages every 4/5 *kos* and conveyed, in relays, the farmans covering 80 *kos* between night and day. Ovington says how these footmen, or *Pattamars*, traversed "the remotest corners" of the empire. Also useful were the postal pigeons (*Kabūtar-i-nāma bar*), which, in Jahangir's reign, are mentioned as flying from Mandu to Burhanpur, in rain, within 2½/1½ *pahars*; but otherwise in 1 *pahar* or even 4 *gharis*.<sup>41</sup>

### Classification of Archives

Mughal archives may be distinguished by the following main types:—

1. Record of official transactions. These comprised the 'Proceedings of the General Assemblies',<sup>42</sup> 'Royal Orders' (*Akhām*) and Court Diaries.
2. Official correspondence both outward and inward. Among the letters issued were—Imperial mandates and letters (*Farmān*, *Manshur* and *Shuqqā*); letters of the royal family to any one other than the Emperor,

<sup>38</sup> *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Sup. pp. 174-75; Manucci, *op. cit.*, II, p. 331; Fryer, *op. cit.*, p. 140; Ovington, *op. cit.*, pp. 228, 416; *Tuzuk*, I, p. 330; *Fehrist Khandan-i-Taimuria*, f. 4; Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1646-50, p. 30.

<sup>39</sup> *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Sup. p. 175; *Alamgir Namah*, 1081; Sarkar, *Mugh. Adm.*, p. 63.

<sup>40</sup> Ovington, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

<sup>41</sup> *Memoirs of Babar*, p. 394 (ed. Leyden and Erskine, Lond. 1826); Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-lubāb*, I, p. 243 (Calcutta, 1874); Foster, *op. cit.*, 1618-21, p. 351; Ovington, *op. cit.*, p. 251; and *Tuzuk*, I, p. 387.

<sup>42</sup> *A'in*, I, 10, p. 269.

generally in the nature of an order in connection with grants etc., (*Nishān*) ; letters of Princes to subordinate governors (*Misal*) ; letters between Ministers and Courtiers (*Muqāib*) ; letters of ministers issued "by order" of the Emperor (*Hasb-ul-Hukm*) ; and letters between officers (*Ishā, Ruqqat*). The inward correspondence was—letters from a Prince to the Emperor, or subject to the Emperor or Prince (*Arzdāsh*) ; official reports "on the affairs of the Mughal Empire" ; and field despatches (*Fateh Nāmah, Tūmār*).

3. Government orders of a financial, revenue, military and judicial nature issued from the various departments. These were, for instance, payment orders to officials for the assignments, specified salaries, stipends, recoveries of advances etc., (*Parwānchā*) ; orders to subordinates, generally as a consequence of legal steps (*Parwānah*) ; written statements of accounts (*Sanad*) ; permits (*Dastak*) ; descriptions of a Mansabdar and his horses (*Arz-o-Chihra*) ; civil lists of Mansabdars and their followers (*Fehrisht Mulazeman-i-dargah-i-khalaiq Panahi*), and, last but not least, the records of the Qazi's Court.

4. Court bulletins, news-letters, etc.—*Akhbārat-i-darbār-i-mualla* ; *Akhbār* ; *Akhbār-i-deorhi* ; *Parcha-i-akhbār* ; *Ahwāl-i-taza, Sawānih* etc.

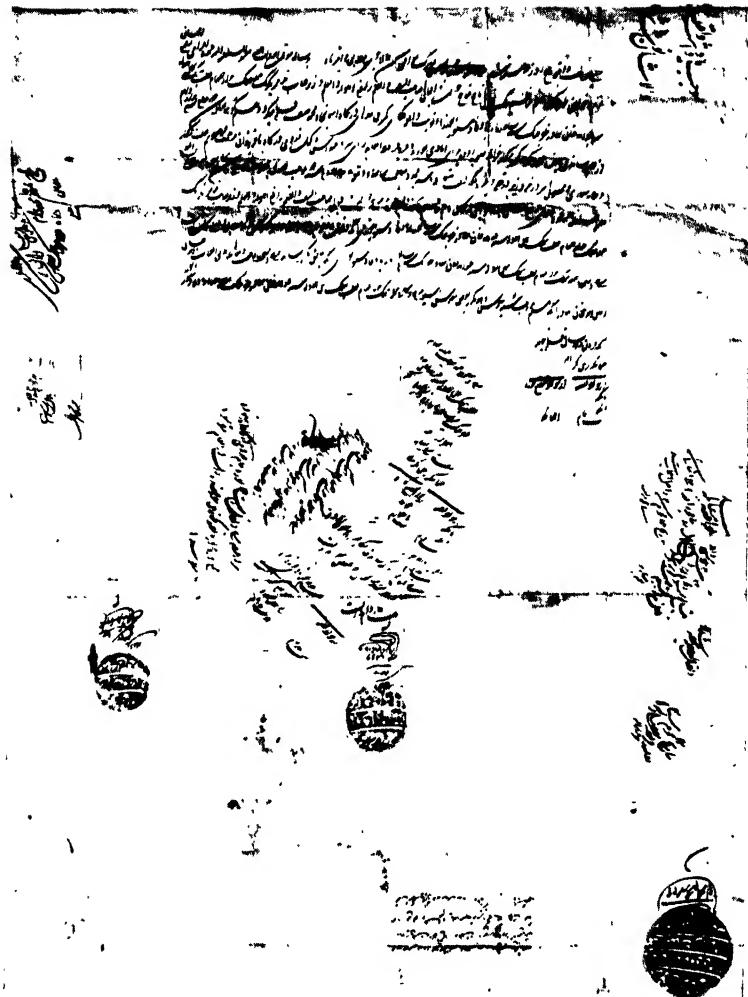
5. Miscellaneous records like office manuals (*Dastur-ul-amal*), statistical accounts, will (*Wasiyat Namah*) etc.

6. Compendiums and Chronicles such as 'letter books' of the Munshis and Court Chronicles. There are numerous excellent chronicles commencing with Abul Fazl's *Akbar Namah* and concluding with Nimat Khan's *Bahadur Shah Namah*.

#### *Record Repositories*

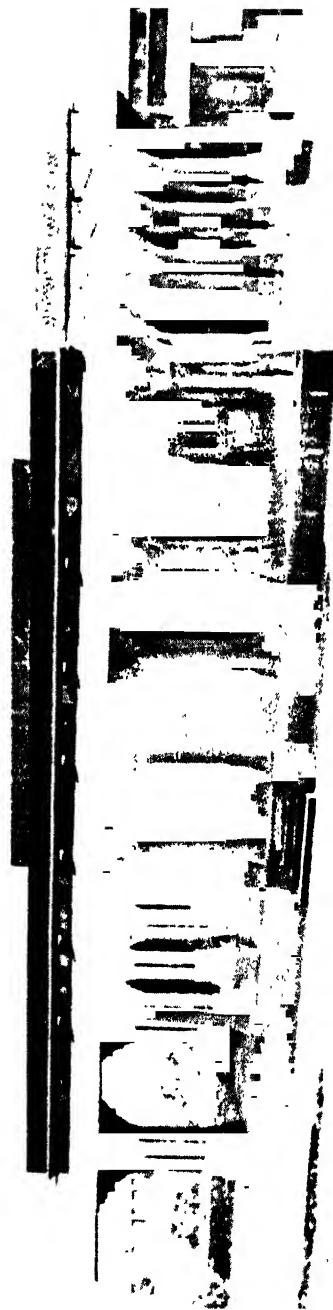
The archives comprising folio volumes and loose papers were preserved for future reference in government repositories at the centre and in provinces. They were all numbered. Departmental documents were filed in the *Natti* system<sup>43</sup> (loose sheets tagged together), chronologically arranged and tied in bundles. The two sides of the bundles were supported by wooden boards and the entire contents covered by *basta* cloth, secured with soft cord and duly labelled. The Imperial Chancery (*Daftār Khānā*) was under a *Dārogha* of the records, immediately subordinate to the *Diwan-i-ālā* (Wazir), in whose palace the repository was sometimes housed. The provincial records were similarly under the provincial *Dewans* (or Chief Ministers). These record offices maintained official papers of a

<sup>43</sup> In his *Mugh. Adm.* Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar has shown in which context these terms have been used. For instance Imperial record office (pp. 27-28, 54, 193-4) ; *Basta Khānā* (p. 30) ; *Daftār-Khānā* (p. 173). On the *Natti* system see *A'in*, I, II, p. 269. As regards the numbering of records, see Sarkar, *Studies* p. 174.



A *Yuddāsh* on the obverse of a royal *farman* of Emperor Farrukhsivar, issued on 5 Zil Hijja, 3. R. Y. to Rai Siroman Das, granting 3000 Dams of land in *qasba* Sandi. (By courtesy: U.P. Regional Records Survey Committee's Collection no. 231.)

PLATE II



A general view of Akbar's Imperial Chancery (Daftari Khana) at Fatehpur Sikri  
(Copyright: Archaeological Survey of India)

permanent value such as reports, despatches, deeds, revenue returns and copies of all papers of administrative and historical importance. Indeed the existence of the copy of a farman, dated 8 March 1544, of Shah Tahmasp of Persia in Akbar's record room at Agra, and that of an undated Shah Jahāni farman, probably of the Golkondā or Bijāpur Sultanates concerning the maintenance of a Bārgir contingent under the Mānsabdāri system in the Deccan, in the provincial record room at Bāganagar (Hyderabad), indicates that copies of administrative and historical documents even of the neighbouring states were kept in the Mughal archives.<sup>44</sup>

Humayun's entourage in Persia included a *Mir Saman* or *Bakāwal Begi* (Superintendent of the Kitchen) named *Bāyazid* Sultan (Bayāt). During the compilation of the *Akbar Namah*, Akbar ordered this *Bāyazid* to record his memoirs, whereupon he dictated, at Lahore, to a clerk of Abul Fazl, his *Tarikh-i-Humayūn* (or *Mukhtasar*). In this account he incorporated a copy of the Persian monarch Shah Tahmasp's farman, dated 8 March 1544, addressed to Muhammad Khan, Governor of Herat, on Humayun's grand reception in the Persian territory. Commenting on this incident H. Beveridge wrote thus: "Bāyazid says the document was produced on 20th Rajab 1000 A.H. by Mir Mirdad Juvini, *Dārogha* of the records, and that he made an exact copy of it. Probably he did, for at the end he seems to have copied an endorsement or other writing on the document to the effect that in 990 A.H. a copy was taken for the *Tarikh-i-alfi*.<sup>45</sup> Possibly, however, this was an endorsement made simultaneously with Bāyazid's copy and meant to show that the copy was made for Bāyazid's use in connection with the *Tarikh-i-alfi*. It will be noticed that the endorsement of 990 A.H. (1582 A.D.) must have been done when the capital was at Fatehpur Sikri. In 1585 Akbar made Agra his capital and the entry against A.H. 1000 (1591-92) must have been made in the record room of Agra.

### *The Imperial Chancery*

Akbar's record room at Fatehpur Sikri still exists. It is a big hall 48½ feet long and 28½ feet wide, with an enclosed verandah and a frontal court. It is built on a platform to the south of Akbar's bedroom (*Khwab-gah*).

The record room at Agra was seen by foreign travellers. William Finch, in 1611, after mentioning that Agra had 4 gates, states that near

<sup>44</sup> *Akbar Namah*, I. 213, pp. 429-30; *Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign*, pp. 229-37.

<sup>45</sup> *Akbar Namah*, I. p. 431 note.

the second gate was the office of the Chief Justice. "Over against this... is the *Cichery* or Court of Rolls, where the King's Vicar sits every morning some three hours, by whose hands pass all matters of Rent, Grants, Lands, Firmans, Debts etc." Joannes de Laet (1593-1649) also mentions it thus: "Opposite this (i.e. Qazi's tribunal) is the *Cuchery* or hall of the Emperor in which the Chief Wazir resides, who superintends all revenue work, all imperial permits and diplomas and all other documents of that kind ; of all these he keeps copies." In 1640, Sebastien Manrique observes the following: "Facing the tribunal stands a fine palace in which the principal Nababo resides. He promulgates all favours, decrees, and privileges, made by that Majesty, their copies being kept in the archives at this place".<sup>46</sup>

In the reign of Aurangzeb, Tavernier mentions that in the Fort palace of Delhi, the "Nabob, or Chief Minister had his Chamber" at the entry of the first court.<sup>47</sup> The record room must have been located nearabouts. Later, during the Indian Mutiny, in 1858, when Muhammad Bahadur Shah, the Emperor of Delhi, was arraigned for a trial before the Military Commission, certain papers were submitted by the Commissioner of Delhi as evidence against him. Among these were "records found in the palace".

#### *Provincial Records*

Sebastien Manrique narrates how he consulted a folio volume at Rajmahal in 1640. He wished to see the state treasury ; but owing to practical difficulties and the limited time at his disposal, access was allowed to him by Shah Shuja, the Governor, to see a document which contained all details. Manrique says: "But in order to comply in part with my wish he agreed to show me the book which contained entries of the values and amounts of all items of income, not only of that principality, but of all the kingdoms and lands of the Emperor . . . . But he had to make it a condition that the book should not leave his house, and I must go there to inspect it." Accordingly when Manrique went to the palace early next morning, he was welcomed, taken to his room and seated on a silken embroidered carpet. The Governor then "made over the book, which was of folio size and more than two fingers thick". Manrique then states that he copied it with "great labour".<sup>48</sup> Of course it has been shown that he plagiarised de Laet's account of Akbar's treasure, and his papers were also lost.

<sup>46</sup> *Purchas and his Pilgrimes*, IV, pp. 72-3 for Finch's description ; *The Account of the Great Mogol*, pp. 96-7 (ed. Hoyland and Banerji, Bombay, 1928) for De Laet's account and also Manrique, *op. cit.*, II, p. 160.

<sup>47</sup> Tavernier, Baptiste, *Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 100 (ed. Ball, Lond. 1889).

<sup>48</sup> Manrique, *op. cit.*, II, p. 275.

We may notice another instance relating to the old records in Avadh. On 13 May, 1783 the Resident at Lucknow, J. Bristow, proposed to Haider Beg Khan Mirza the following: (i) Rājā Sūrat Singh, the head of the *Diwāni*, had no authority over the old records; (ii) it was difficult to trace the papers; (iii) records of Government transactions were not properly maintained; (iv) the Rājā was to be given charge of a separate establishment in which "records of all places and of all offices be deposited"; (v) any papers requisitioned by the Rājā should be supplied forthwith by the officers; and (vi) tampering of records should be punished. The office was subsequently shifted near the Nawab Vazir's palace, where it was freely accessible to the public.<sup>49</sup>

### *Records in Campaigns*

The records were never separated from the sovereign. Akbar appears to have taken his records in his Kabul expedition.<sup>50</sup> During Aurangzeb's campaign to Kashmir in 1662, the same practice was followed. Manucci says: "The royal office of record was also there, for the original records always accompany the Court, and this required eighty camels, thirty elephants, and twenty carts, loaded with the registers and papers of account of the empire."<sup>51</sup> In an earlier composition, the Venice Codex of the same work, however, it is stated that only copies and extracts were taken and not the originals.

G. N. SALETORE

<sup>49</sup> C. P. C., VI, 745, 749.

<sup>50</sup> Smith, V. *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 138. (Oxford, 1917).

<sup>51</sup> Manucci, *op. cit.*, II, p. 68, and also note 2.

## PRIVATE ARCHIVES IN ENGLAND: THE WORK OF THE NATIONAL REGISTER

DURING the last thirty years there has been in England a growing concern for the safety and preservation of private archives. This urgent problem is a natural result of the mere bulk of modern documents which require some kind of periodic elimination ; of legislation which has rendered the preservation of old muniments of title no longer necessary : of the rapid breaking up of large estates : and the closing down or amalgamation of old businesses and institutions. The danger to archives is emphasised by the fact that every local authority, corporation or parish has complete control over its own archives, with the result that while some archives are carefully preserved, others are liable to deteriorate or be dispersed through neglect.

There are some people who hold the view that continuous neglect through hundreds of years has been the means of saving documents which if not overlooked, would have been destroyed, but this can hardly be relied on or encouraged in present conditions.

Ever since the sixteenth century, however, there have been enthusiastic (and often eccentric) antiquaries whose labours have stimulated interest in archives, although their methods were seldom such as would earn the approval of modern archivists. Since 1869, the Historical Manuscripts Commission has produced a long series of printed reports on private archives, including those of outstanding national importance such as the Cecil MSS at Hatfield and the De L'Isle and Dudley MSS at Penshurst. Nor must the admirable work of the Library Association, and, since 1933, of the British Records Association be forgotten. This growing interest in the preservation of private archives was due to the enthusiasm and foresight of certain individuals rather than to any government policy, and has led to the establishment of record offices by local authorities, so that by now there is one in most of the counties of England. These offices are in the first instance concerned with the archives of their county authorities, but they accept gifts or deposits of privately owned papers. At the same time the necessity of obtaining a wider and fuller view of the mass of archives in private hands led to the setting up in 1945 of the National Register of Archives as an extension of the work of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.\* Its primary function is the compilation of a 'Register' of those archives in England and Wales with which the Public Record Office is not concerned—that is to say, archives which are not

\* See the articles by Mr. Atkinson and Colonel Malet in Vol. IV of *The Indian Archives*.

those of government departments or courts of law. The Register is concerned with estate and family papers, the records of local government authorities, parishes, boroughs, business and professional firms, societies, institutions, and so forth.

It was soon realised by those in charge of the National Register of Archives that the only satisfactory way to discover the whereabouts of a great many accumulations of archives was in using local knowledge. Accordingly, as a result of the enthusiasm and energy of the first Registrar, the late Colonel G. E. G. Malet, local committees of voluntary helpers were gradually set up, so that there are now committees covering nearly all English counties and also three in Wales. The work of these committees is to discover the location of archives in their respective areas and, with the owners' permission, to report their existence to the honorary secretary of their committee (often a professional archivist). Subsequently a summary list is made of the papers and the information made available to scholars. Thus all over the country, archives are coming to light sometimes in curious and unexpected places—one large accumulation for instance was found in an unused pigsty, and individual documents have occasionally been discovered in such places as the eaves of a house or a bricked up recess. Often papers are rescued just in time to avert their total destruction by damp, pests or vermin. Only the other day one of the Register's county representatives reported that he had found some important 18th century correspondence in a box actively infested by mice. Many owners are liable to destroy papers which they consider are of no interest. A case in point was that of a very fine series of estate papers including deeds, accounts, surveys, maps and plans covering several centuries, which was recently condemned to the bonfire but rescued by the Register at the eleventh hour.

At the Register's headquarters in the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London, copies of every report are filed and relevant information abstracted and put on various indexes for quick reference. There are in course of completion an index of selected personal names (on the level of those mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography*), and a working subject index (also selected), whilst a topographical index deals primarily with the places where documents actually are, but is incidentally useful as a guide to the sources of local history.

In addition to dealing with reports (which now number over 6,000) the Register's staff travel about the country inspecting and reporting on archives, speaking at meetings and often arranging for the deposit of documents in suitable repositories in cases where the owners are unable to undertake their custody or make them available for research. Some-

times when arranging a deposit, the Register is able to bring together different parts of one accumulation which have been physically separated ; thus three different parts of the Dering papers, including those of Sir Edward Dering, the antiquary, have been placed together in the Kent County Record Office ; and recently documents relating to the Augustinian Priory of Southwick in Hampshire, neglected by scholars for four centuries, were discovered in a loft in Warwickshire and have now gone to join other papers of the priory deposited in the county record office.

An increasing number of scholars visit the Register from overseas, and it is always a great pleasure to assist them whenever possible, but it should be remembered that the Register is still at the beginning of its work, and its staff is small. It is far from being in the position to be able to get scholars access to all the private papers they may wish to consult.

Nevertheless new material is gradually being found. Of special interest to the Indian scholar are semi-official papers of some former Viceroys or Secretaries of State for India, the correspondence and diaries of British residents in India, papers relating to overseas trade and so forth. A point to be borne in mind in connexion with the study of private papers, is that although some are deposited in public repositories, many are still in the custody of their owners, and it is not convenient for an owner, however helpful, to give unrestricted and continuous access to his papers. In some cases where there is great demand for scholars to see any particular papers, the Register has arranged that several of them should make a visit at the same time. One highly successful visit took place recently on these lines and the party became known locally as 'a little League of Nations'.

As time goes on, and the work of the Register develops, it is to be hoped that more and more private archives will be available to the historian. For instance, it has not been possible except in a few cases to examine the archives of business firms or of missionary societies, though it is evident from what little has been done that both these categories of archives are rewarding sources for research and some may be of considerable interest to Indian historians in the future.

W. D. COATES

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE RUSSELL  
CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO HYDERABAD  
1783-1852

**T**HIS voluminous and important correspondence chiefly relates to the career of Sir Henry Russell (1783-1852) who was the British Resident in the Nizam's State of Hyderabad from 1811 to 1820. It has been deposited in the Bodleian Library by the present holder of the title, Sir Arthur Russell of Swallowfield near Reading.

The first of the Russell family to proceed to India was Sir Henry Russell (1751-1836). Appointed puisne judge in the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal in May 1797 he reached Calcutta on 28 May 1798. It is interesting to note that one of his nieces who died at Calcutta on 2 March 1800, was the Honourable Rose Aylmer immortalized by Walter Savage Landor. In 1806 Russell was appointed Chief Justice in Bengal. He was created a baronet on 10 December 1812. In the following year he left India and was granted a pension of £ 2000 a year by the East India Company. He died at his London residence, 62 Wimpole Street, on 18 January 1836. Three of his sons, Henry Russell, Charles Russell, and Francis Whitworth Russell entered the service of the East India Company.

Sir Henry Russell (1783-1852) succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his father in 1836. He went to India in 1797 where he became assistant to N. B. Edmonstone in the Persian Translator's office. In 1800 Lord Mornington appointed him assistant secretary to the Resident in Hyderabad with a salary of £ 1200 a year. In October 1808 he married Jane Amelia, second daughter of James Henry Casamaijor, a member of the Madras Council and Chief Judge of the Court of Sadr and Faujdari Adalat. In 1810 he was appointed Resident in Hyderabad with a salary of £ 20,000 a year. It was not however until 17 April 1811 that he took charge of the Residency. His first wife died two months after her marriage. Eight years later, in 1816, he married Marie-Clotilde Mottet de la Fontaine, the daughter of Baron Benoît Mottet de la Fontaine, the Governor of Pondicherry. Russell remained at Hyderabad until 1820 when he returned to England.

The correspondence throws a flood of light on the shady transactions of the Palmer Company in Hyderabad and the extent to which Lord Hastings, the Governor-General, and Henry Russell, the Resident, were involved. It is extremely valuable on Indian political, military, and social affairs, and on the part played by the Resident in the Indian State of Hyderabad. Henry Russell's correspondence with Lord Minto, Lord Hastings, his father the Chief Justice, his brother Charles, J. H. Casamaijor

of the Madras Council, Sir William Rumbold, William Palmer and other Anglo-Indians forms a valuable source for the history of British policy in the Indian State of Hyderabad and the condition of India during the governor-generalship of Lord Hastings.

The following summary will give some idea of the importance of the collection:

- (1) Correspondence of the first baronet Sir Henry Russell.  
(11 April 1803-29 January 1826).
- (2) Letters of Anne Russell, wife of the first baronet, to her sons Charles and Henry.  
(13 February 1803-26 July 1814).
- (3) Letters of Henry Russell to his father Sir Henry Russell.  
(21 October 1808-29 January 1826).
- (4) Letters of Henry Russell to his brother Charles.  
(21 February 1802-19 May 1841).
- (5) Letters of Henry Russell to J. H. Casamajor.  
(6 November 1809-13 November 1813).
- (6) Miscellaneous Correspondence of Henry Russell.  
(19 June 1805-9 December 1843).
- (7) Henry Russell's Diary of a voyage from India to St. Helena and England. (1820-21).
- (8) Persian Correspondence of Henry Russell chiefly relating to the Muslim begum in whom he was interested.
- (9) Correspondence of Sir William Rumbold with Henry Russell.  
(7 December 1823-30 June 1833).
- (10) Letters of Henry Russell to N. B. Edmonstone.  
(3 January 1824-6 January 1840).
- (11) Letters of William Palmer (Hyderabad) to Henry Russell.  
(16 November 1836-27 January 1847).
- (12) Letters of William Currie (one of the partners of William Palmer and Company) to Charles Russell.  
(18 July 1823-18 March 1825).
- (13) Correspondence relating to Frank Russell, the brother of Henry and Charles Russell.
- (14) Miscellaneous Records, correspondence and papers.
  - (a) Copies of the public correspondence of Henry Russell.
  - (b) Draft notes, minutes, reports and letters of Henry Russell.
  - (c) Notes on the custom of *Sati*.
  - (d) Bound MSS. correspondence of T. Sydenham, Resident in Hyderabad (December 1806-May 1807).
  - (e) Bound MSS. Hyderabad Residency Correspondence (1810-11).

- (f) Bound MSS. Correspondence of Charles Russell, First Assistant in Charge of the Hyderabad Residency.  
(29 May 1810—2 March 1811).
- (g) Bound MSS. belonging to George Sydenham.
  - (1) Memoir on the State of Persia (John Malcolm to Lord Minto, Bagdad, 6 October 1810).
  - (2) Dissertation on the Invasion of India (J. Macdonald, 1814).
  - (3) Observations on the Conquest of Turkey (J. Macdonald).
- (h) Bound MSS. Henry Russell's Report to Lord Moira on *The Condition and Resources of the Nizam's Government* (30 March 1816).

*Selections from the letters of Henry Russell to J. H. Casamajor*

(1) *Poona, 16 April 1810*

"..... The Rajah of Berar has invariably displayed more Suspicion and Jealousy of us, than any other Power in India ; he was the principal Instigator of the Marhatta confederacy against us in 1803 : and, at no Time, has his Conduct, like the Paishwah's and the old Nizam's, been that of an honest cordial Friend. Surely, therefore, he has no Claim to any Consideration or Assistance from us, beyond that which our own Interests may make it expedient for us to grant. In the present Instance, he has proved, by the Way in which he rejected Lord Minto's proposal, that nothing but an extreme Necessity could drive him to admit a British Force into his Territories. The offer he has now himself made, is the strongest Proof that, in his Judgment, such a Necessity does exist : and of course it is reasonable that we should take advantage of it, to afford him the Aid he requires upon our Terms, and not upon his. I suppose, however, that he will now consent to anything, as far, at least, as the condition of his Finances admit."

(2) *Poona, 28 April 1810*

He is making every possible effort to persuade Lord Minto to post him to the Residency in Hyderabad. He would prefer the position of acting Resident at 1500 rupees a month to that of a Commissioner at 2500 rupees a month.

(3) *Poona, 28 June 1810*

Has at last received official notification of his appointment as Resident

in Hyderabad from 15 May 1810. Sydenham has left Hyderabad and has visited him at Poona. He is proceeding to England via Persia.

“..... The Amount of Sydenham’s Fortune I do not know : but I conjecture that he has about a Lac and a half of Rupees, independently of the Lac, of which he has appropriated the Interest to his Mother during her Life time. The only part of his Private Property which he left behind him unsold at Hyderabad, was his Library, and that I have purchased from him for a Thousand Pounds. It is a very extensive and complete collection of Books ; and to a Bookworm like me, will be a great Source of Advantage and Amusement, during several years that I am likely to remain at Hyderabad.....”

(4) *Poona, 31 August 1810*

His father is going to pay him a visit at Hyderabad.

“..... I tell my Father, that although he may be a very great Man at Calcutta, he must be content at Hyderabad, to be thought a much greater Man as the Resident’s Father, than as the King’s Chief Justice...”

(5) *Poona, 16 October 1810*

“..... For some Months past, a system of dangerous Intrigue has been prosecuted by the Nizam and Mooneer ool Mookl ostensiblly against Chandoo Lall’s, but really against our Interests ; and Lord Minto has now wisely determined to interpose our Influence to counteract them. His Lordship has written Letters both to Mooneer ool Mookl and to the Nizam upon the Subject, and he has given Charles a provisional authority to take such Steps as may be necessary for the Accomplishment of our Object. But Charles has been desired to consult me regarding the Time of carrying his Instructions into Effect, and has been recommended to defer acting upon them until my Arrival, unless it should appear likely that the Delay will be productive of any Inconvenience or Embarrassment.....”

(6) *Hyderabad, 22 April 1811*

Arrived at Hyderabad on 17 April 1811. Describes his first audience with the Nizam.

“..... The Day before yesterday I had my first Audience of the Nizam. His Conduct both then, and on every other Occasion since my Arrival, has been marked with great personal civility and kindness, except that on my first approaching him he omitted to embrace me, a Form which according to the Customs of the Court it is proper for the Nizam to

pay to the British Resident, and which it has hitherto been the invariable Usage for him to observe. This Omission I know, through different channels of secret Intelligence, was designed, and was suggested to the Nizam by Mooneer ool Mook, to recommend himself by flattering the puerile Vanity of the Nizam. As I did not know until I had left the Durbar but that the Omission might have been accidental, I did not allow it to make any Change in my Manner and Conversation to the Nizam. But I have since remonstrated against it through Chandoo Lall, and am resolved never to go to the Durbar again until the Nizam promises to receive me in the Way in which it has been the invariable Practice for him to receive the British Resident. The Marks of external Respect to us must not be lessened as our Power increases. It is meant, I know, to feel my Pulse. The People at Hyderabad always try a Man's Temper and Disposition when they begin to deal with him. If they find him firm and decided, they stand in Awe of him, and treat him with Respect afterwards ; but if he yields, they make the first Encroachment a Prelude to another, and then go on, Step by Step, until they have reduced him to Insignificance. In me, however, they will find they have caught a Tartar. I shall always be mild, polite, and conciliatory in my Manners ; but without positive Orders from my Superiors, I never will yield a Little of what I know and feel to be due to the Character I stand in. I must not suffer the Dignity of the Governour General to be insulted in my Person . . . . .”

(7) *Hyderabad, 16 June 1811*

His first wife Jane Amelia, the second daughter of J. H. Casamaior, died in 1808, two months after marriage. Bacon, the celebrated sculptor, executed a monument for his wife which was sent to India on the *Elizabeth*. Reports the loss of the *Elizabeth* at sea.

(8) *Hyderabad, 13 July 1811*

“. . . . . We are all quite quiet at Hyderabad just now. The Nizam lately shewed some Disposition to be troublesome, but he appears to have taken a distant hint I gave him, and I hope now I shall be able to manage Matters, by playing off my Puppets from behind the Scenes, without appearing upon the Stage myself.”

(9) *Hyderabad, 22 July 1811*

His brother Frank whom he is anxious to get appointed as second assistant at Hyderabad has failed to pass his examination at Calcutta.

(10) *Hyderabad, 27 September 1811*

". . . After what I told you of the Difficulties which were thrown in the Way of Frank's remaining at Hyderabad, you will be happy to hear that they have been removed by Mr. Edmonstone's friendly Interposition. My father says in a Letter I received from him the other day,—

'I have at length accomplished the desired object of getting Frank excused from coming to Calcutta to be examined. It was done by the zealous and friendly Interposition of Edmonstone. He called to see me when I was confined with the Gout. When we had talked much of you and Charles of whom he spoke in the handsomest Terms possible, our conversation turned upon Frank. I told him how much I was distressed at his being obliged to come to Calcutta, and how mortified I was that my application to have him excused had been refused. He immediately said it ought to have been granted, and that he would try his utmost to get it complied with now. A few days afterwards he called to tell me that he had succeeded; that a quarterly Examination which is to take place at the end of this month or the Beginning of next, several young men will be let out of College, and that Frank was to be included in the number; that this was to be done almost sub silentio, as a Favour to me, and that I must not talk about it. As soon as he is released from College, he will be appointed second assistant to you. This is great Proof of Edmonstone's Feeling and Friendship for us. Do pray write a very grateful letter to him: tell him how much misery he has spared me, and how much he has done towards saving my wretched son. You cannot tell him more than I feel, nor can you thank him too warmly' . . . ."

(11) *Hyderabad, 19 October 1811*

Mr. Harrington and General Hewitt are making it difficult for Edmonstone to get Frank appointed to Hyderabad. Frank is to be examined at Hyderabad and not in Calcutta.

(12) *Hyderabad, 28 October 1811*

His father is worried about the result of Frank's examination at Hyderabad.

" . . . . . But I hope he need have no Fear for the Result. I can contrive, if any Management should be necessary, to manage the Business in such a Way as to ensure Frank's coming off with quite as much Credit as will be necessary. . . . . Frank may perhaps be strong enough to

fight his Way through the Examination by himself ; but at any Rate, if the worst comes to the worst, and a little Fraud should be practised, it will be of a very pious kind. My Conscience will not be much disturbed by my having transgressed the Letter of a College Rule, to save a Brother from Ruin . . . . ”

(13) *Hyderabad, 4 December 1811*

Refers to the growth of the Pindari menace. Berar threatened.

“ . . . . If we had acted wisely, we should have prevented this mischief, instead of having it to come now. The Rajah's rejecting our offer of a Subsidiary Force in the first Instance, was not a sufficient reason for our rejecting the requests he has been making ever since, to have one. If we did not think the Measure of Importance, we need not have proposed it at first ; if we did think it so, we ought not to have rejected it afterwards. It is not becoming in Statesmen to coquet upon large questions of Policy. The Establishment of a Force upon the Nerbudda, or near it, always seemed to be so desirable an Object, that we ought to have neglected no Means of accomplishing it. It would have covered the only open Point of the Deckan, and have supplied the only Link that is wanting in our Chain of Military Posts, from Point de Galle to Loodehana. It would give us a Control over both Meer Khan and the Pindarries ; and even if we did not think necessary to make use of it to destroy them, it would always enable us to prevent their growing so powerful as to endanger the general Repose of India. Who would have believed, ten years ago, that the Pindarries would by this Time have acquired large territorial Possessions, and that they would now be threatening Nagpore itself, with an Army of Twenty Thousand Men? Their Infantry and Guns I am glad to see. They will encumber their Movements, and bring them within our Reach. I am afraid that the Nizam's Country will suffer a little, from the Ravages of small detached Parties, but I hope Colonel Conran will reach the Frontier in Time to repel any large Body. His Advance may even check the Pindarries in their attack upon Nagpore, as they cannot be aware that he will halt upon the Frontier. But this is a slender Hope”.

(14) *Hyderabad, 14 March 1812*

Reports that war has broken out with the United States of America.

“ . . . . All national Prejudices are foolish, but I cannot help feeling a very strong one against the Americans. Of all the Nations on

the Globe they are the one I wish the worst to. No Enemies, they say, are so bitter, as those who have once been Friends".

(15) *Hyderabad, 15 December 1812*

His father is coming on a visit to Hyderabad but is terrified of being attacked by Pindaries. This is natural for a man whose Indian experience has been confined to Calcutta.

" . . . . . A man who has never been out of Calcutta is just as much a Griffin in India, as if he had lived his whole life in London".

C. COLIN DAVIES

(*To be continued*)

## THE THIRTIETH SESSION OF THE INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

THE thirtieth annual session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held at Hyderabad from 1 to 3 February 1954. Owing to the unavoidable absence of the Hon'ble Minister for Education, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Government of India, who is the *ex-officio* President of the Commission, the meeting was presided over by Professor Humayun Kabir, Educational Adviser and Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Education.

### *Inaugural Meeting*

The Proceedings of the public meeting began with the welcome address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Shri Gopal Rao Ekbote, Minister for Education and Local Self Government, Government of Hyderabad. He emphasized in his address that the Indian Historical Records Commission during the past 35 years of its existence had established a sound tradition of progress and had done solid work in all fields of its activity. The President then requested the Chief Minister of Hyderabad to inaugurate the session. In his inaugural address the Chief Minister drew the attention of the historians to the need for studying the recent past of India which in his opinion was of very great significance politically, socially and economically.

In his presidential address, Professor Kabir said that it was a matter of great significance that the Commission was holding its 30th session in the State of Hyderabad which was known for its historical and archaeological wealth that could be dated to the prehistoric days of Indian civilization. He also commended the enlightened policy adopted by the Government of Hyderabad in the field of historical research, and spoke in appreciative terms of the progress made by the Central Record Office, Hyderabad, which according to him was a treasure-house of historical records in the State.

Reviewing the contribution made by the Indian Historical Records Commission in the field of historical research and the creation of records-consciousness in the country, Professor Kabir remarked, "It is mainly through the efforts of the Commission that the Government of India took steps to develop the National Archives of India (formerly known as the Imperial Record Department) into an up-to-date archival repository, and that the State Governments began to establish Central Records Offices. The Commission has also been greatly interested in salvaging and preserv-

ing private records through the Regional Records Committees which have done useful work in this direction. The study of archives is now attracting wider attention both among specialists and amateurs. The public are also more aware of the value of records." Professor Kabir also referred to the problem of the ever increasing number of records and the consequent shortage of storage space and personnel needed to preserve them. "In India, too", he said, "we are faced with a serious situation regarding the control, management and disposition of the growing departmental records. The Government of India is taking steps for the improvement of its records systems and the maintenance of the archives in their different agencies." Professor Kabir drew the attention of the Commission to one field, where according to him much remains to be done. "Public records," he said, "are not the only documents that need to be preserved. There are various types of records relating to land, agriculture, commerce and business relations which belong to many private families. With the gradual disappearance of the landlords and the decay of many old commercial bodies and firms, there is a risk that these records may be dispersed or even destroyed. It would be difficult, if not impossible, for the Central Government to ensure the preservation of all such records. In fact to search for them and catalogue them will itself prove a stupendous task."

The President added, "The Universities have a very important rôle to play in this field. With their distribution throughout the land, and still more, because of the loyalty they can claim from their alumni, it would be easier for them to organise and undertake a search for such records with a view to cataloguing and wherever possible, collecting and preserving them. I have every hope that many eminent historians who have assembled here will move their own Universities to take up this national task." Professor Kabir concluded his speech with the remark "the care which a nation devotes to the preservation of the monuments of its past may serve as a true measure of the civilization to which it has attained."

The public meeting of the Commission concluded after the Secretary had read out the messages received for the success of the Commission from several distinguished persons both in India and abroad.

On the evening of 1 February 1954, Dr. S. N. Sen delivered a public lecture at the Nizam College Hall on "The Chinese pilgrims as Historians," with Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, former Director of the Department of Archaeology, Hyderabad Government, in the chair. On the evening of 2 February, a symposium was held at the same place on "Private Archives in India and their Preservation", with Professor R. P. Patwardhan in the chair. The discussion on the subject was initiated by Mr. V. S. Suri, Keeper of Records to the Punjab Government, and among those who

participated in the discussion were Dr. P. M. Joshi, Dr. S. N. Sen, Professor Humayun Kabir, Mr. G. H. Khare, and Professor Patwardhan.

### *Historical Exhibition*

An important feature of the session was the organisation of an exhibition of records, historical manuscripts, paintings, photographs, maps and charts, etc. The exhibition was opened by Dr. G. S. Melkote, Minister for Labour and Public Works, at 4.30 p.m. on 1 February 1954. The exhibits were tastefully arranged in the Hall of the Central Record Office, Hyderabad, and were kept on view for the duration of the session. Besides the Government of Hyderabad exhibits, there were contributions from the National Archives of India, the Combined Inter Services Historical Section, Ministry of Defence, Government of India, various State Governments, learned institutions and private individuals. The exhibits from the National Archives of India consisted of 51 items, of which 15 documents related to the modern history of Hyderabad from 1779-1820 covering the reigns of Nawab Nizam Ali Khan and Nawab Sikandar Jah. The Department also displayed specimens of 15 damaged records and photographs showing the harm done by the various insects, and the methods used for their rehabilitation.

The photographs, maps and documents from the Combined Inter Services Historical Section were much appreciated by the visitors as they dealt with the operations of the Indian Army against the Japanese in Burma during the last war. The exhibits from the Central Record Office, Hyderabad, included copies of Poona Akhbars of the 18th century, farmans of the Nizams, and rare Persian manuscripts of early times.

Among the Persian manuscripts from the Punjab Government Record Office, Simla, *Tuzuk-i-Taimuri*, an illustrated copy of a manual of statecraft drawn up by Amir Taimur and *Zafar Nama*, an illustrated and illuminated manual of military training of the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh prepared by Munshi Harbhagat under the instructions of the French General Ventura, were particularly appreciated. Exhibits from the Central Record Office, U. P., the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam, and the Rajputana museum, Ajmer, to mention only a few, also added to the utility and interest of the exhibition.

### *Members' Annual Meeting*

The Annual Members' Meeting of the Commission was held on the morning of 2 February 1954 with Professor Humayun Kabir in the chair.

The Proceedings began with a resolution of condolence on the death of Shri B. W. Bhat and Professor V. R. Ramachandra Rao Dikshitar. Shri B. W. Bhat had represented the Rajwade Samshodhak Mandal, Dhule on the Indian Historical Records Commission from 1947 to 1952 ; and Shri V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar was Professor of Indian History and Archaeology at the Madras University and had represented his University on the Commission from 1947 to 1953.

The Commission then reviewed the progress made in the Development Programme of the National Archives of India during 1953, and discussed a number of problems relating to archives administration in India. Among the resolutions adopted by the Commission mention may be made of Dr. H. R. Gupta's resolution pertaining to the grave consequences of the growing tendency among the States in India to bifurcate their records into historical and administrative. Professor Mujeeb initiated the discussion on the necessity of maintaining the integrity of the records of the States which are likely to be partitioned as a result of the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission. The Commission accepted the resolutions. At the end Shri J. B. Mallaradhy proposed a vote of thanks to the Government of Hyderabad and the Reception Committee for the excellent arrangements they had made for the 30th session of the Commission. The meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to the Chair moved by Dr. S. N. Sen.

#### *Twenty-second Meeting of the Research and Publication Committee*

The twenty-second meeting of the Research and Publication Committee was held on the morning of 2 February 1954 with Professor Humayun Kabir in the chair. The Committee reviewed the progress made in the Publication Programme of the National Archives of India during 1953. Dr. S. N. Sen suggested that in order to expedite the work of publication, all the remaining volumes of the *Fort William-India House Correspondence* should be printed at private presses. The Chairman offered to look into the matter personally, and assured the Committee that all facilities for printing these volumes will be afforded by the Government of India.

Professor K. L. Srivastava suggested that the materials collected for the writing of the history of the Freedom Movement should be permanently preserved at the National Archives of India and the Record Offices of the State Governments so as to make them available for future historical research. The Committee adopted the resolution.

The meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to the chair.

*Reading of Papers*

Immediately after the Members' Meeting, the Commission took up the discussion of the papers contributed by the scholars to be read at its 30th session. There were as many as twenty-seven papers which were printed in a brochure. The discussion was initiated by Mr. M. L. Ahluwalia who read his article on the "Relations of the Lahore Durbar with China".

The article brought to light some very interesting points which had prompted the Sikh rulers of Lahore to undertake in 1835-1842, the conquest of the Tibetan Kingdoms of Ladakh, Iskardo and Lhasa and which ultimately led to a clash between the Lahore Durbar and the Chinese authorities who claimed suzerainty over Tibet. Dr. S. N. Sen and Professor N. K. Sinha participated in the discussion which followed.

Dr. Hari Ram Gupta read his paper on Sikh-Nepal Relations in 1839-1840. He brought to light the various attempts made by the Nepali Durbar for entering into an alliance with Maharajah Ranjit Singh with the purpose of opposing the British Government in India and proved how the British Political Agents at Ludhiana and Khatmandu successfully foiled the designs of Nepal.

Dr. G. S. Sardesai gave a very interesting account of the Marathi records which belong to the Gulgule family of the Sardars of Sarola House in Kotah. The records are written in Modi script and are still unpublished. Dr. Sardesai related how these records are the only source of information on the doings of the sons of Ranoji Sindhia, on the early struggles of Mahadji Sindhia from 1761-1768, on the entire history of Daulat Rao Sindhia after Mahadji's death in 1794, and lastly on the rise of Yashwant Rao Holkar.

Yet another interesting paper was read by Dr. G. N. Saletore on the Mission of Col. A. Lockett to the Western States of Rajasthan in 1831. The primary aim of the Government of India for sending the mission was to collect authentic information about the predatory tribes of Shekhawati who had been a constant source of disturbance in Rajputana. It was in this connection that Col. Lockett visited the States of Alwar, Kolepuli, Narnoul, Kanound, Dadri, Loharu, Churu, Ratangarh, Didwana, Kuchawan, Ajmer, Beraitch, Bikaner and Jodhpur, and the diaries of Col. Lockett constitute the most valuable raw materials for the military, geographical, economical, social and political history of Rajputana during this period.

The other important papers read at the session included "Chait Singh and Hastings" by Hasan Askari; "Annexation of Jayanta" by H. K. Barpujari; "A Problem about Revenue Accounts in the 18th Century"

by R. P. Patwardhan ; "Minto and East India Company's Turkish Arabia Affairs" by Shilendra K. Singh ; and "Trial of an Impostor of Nanasaheb Peshwa" by V. P. Pandit.

On 3 February the members visited the Central Museum, Salar Jung Museum, Saidia Library and other places of historical and archaeological interest in and around the city of Hyderabad including Golconda Fort. Two pleasant tea parties—one given by the Hon'ble Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung, and the other by the Hon'ble Raja Sham Raj Bahadur—brought the 30th session of the Indian Historical Records Commission to a successful close.

## NEWS NOTES

### INDIA

*National Archives of India*

Among the recent accessions to the Department's holdings is a unique collection of the papers of Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras during the years 1781-85. These papers covering the period 1781-98 will form valuable source material to students of modern Indian history. Another valued acquisition of the National Archives of India is a holograph letter of H. M. Hyndman, the well-known English Socialist. The document which is addressed to Robert La Monte and is dated 17 November 1909 was received as a gift through the Ministry of Education, Government of India. The letter shows Hyndman as a great admirer of Indian civilization and as one firmly convinced that British rule was detrimental to the best interests of the people. The letter closes with a note of optimism bordering on prophecy: "India will be very great again some day. What are 400 years even of invasion and oppression to such peoples as those of the Great Peninsula?"

The records of the Hyderabad Residency and its successor bodies (1831-1953), the Western India and Gujarat States Agency and successor bodies (1805-1952), and the Central India Agency and successor offices (1869-1949) have been transferred to the Department's custody and are being checked and arranged. Another valuable group of archives accessioned recently is the records of the Ministry of Finance (Department of Economic Affairs—Budget Finance I and II) for the years 1943-48. The Ministry of Home Affairs (Political Branch) has sent in 40 more files covering the period 1909-10.

The Department has recently purchased two Persian manuscripts, the *Mantakhab Rashat* of the early 17th century, and a diary of Mir Ahmed Saad of the mid-eighteenth century. The former will be of particular use to students of calligraphy and the latter throws fresh light on events during the reigns of the Emperor Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.

Considerable progress has been made with the microfilming of the records of Indian interest in the Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague. In March 1954 the Department received 33 reels of microfilm containing 27,656 exposures of the records for 1693-99. The National Archives has thus acquired copies of nearly all the 17th century records of the Dutch Company relating to India. A complete list of documents of Indian interest among the Chatham and Pitt Papers was despatched to the Public Record Office at London with a view to acquiring microfilm copies.

The first three months' Short Course of Training in archive-keeping commenced on 2 January 1954 with 15 trainees from various Departments of the Government of India and the State Governments. They completed their training on 31 March. The next session is due to start on 1 July. The One Year's Diploma Course for 1953-54 is in progress with 4 trainees on the roll.

Regarding the publication work of the Department the printing of volume XVII of *Fort William—India House Correspondence* which was sent to the press late last year was nearing completion. The printing of Vols. I and II of the same series also made considerable progress. In place of the Annual Reports of the Department, the last of which appeared in 1947, it was decided to publish a comprehensive report covering the 5 years 1948-52. This *Quinquennial Review of the National Archives of India, 1948-52* was issued in April 1954.

Under the National Archives programme of issuing a series of pamphlets, two pamphlets on *The Indian Press* and *Social Legislation* were published in April and June respectively. The main purpose of these pamphlets is to draw attention to selected documents relating to a particular subject or period and thus enable students of history as well as the general public to have a first-hand knowledge of the source materials available on the subject. The first pamphlet traces the early history of the Indian Press, while the second gives an account of the various attempts made by the British Government for reforming Hindu society.

With a view to turning the National Archives of India into a Research centre, a post of a Research Officer has been created and a full-fledged Historical Section was opened in January 1954. In addition to his other duties, the Research Officer has to guide the Ph.D. students and to edit an *Annual Guide* of theses completed and those under preparation at the various Indian and British Universities.

The Government of India have been pleased to sanction the award of six Fellowships of Rs. 150/- each per month for research among records in Modern Indian History at the National Archives of India to post-graduate students of such of the Indian universities as agree to participate in this scheme. For this purpose the universities will be divided into six zones as follows:

- I. *South India*—Andhra, Annamalai, Madras and Travancore.
  - II. *Central India*—Osmania, Nagpur, Sagar, Karnatak and Mysore.
  - III. *East India*—Calcutta, Gauhati, Patna, Bihar, Utkal and Visva-Bharati.
  - VI. *West India*—Bombay, Baroda, Gujarat, Poona and the Women's University, Bombay.
  - V. *North East India*—Agra, Allahabad, Lucknow, Aligarh and Benares.
  - VI. *East Punjab, Delhi, Rajputana and Jammu and Kashmir.*
- One candidate from each zone will be awarded a fellowship.

The fellowships are tenable for one year but are renewable for a further period of one year. The selected research scholars will work on subjects approved by the Director of Archives in consultation with the universities and materials for which are available at the National Archives. The theses thus prepared will be submitted to the respective universities of the students for Ph.D. or D.Litt. degrees. After the award of the degrees, the universities concerned are expected to arrange for the publication of these theses.

It is the first time that a concerted effort on an all-India basis is being

made to encourage historical research in the modern period of Indian history. It is hoped that with the good will of the universities, the scheme will prove a great success and add considerably to our historical knowledge.

*Secretariat Record Office, Bombay*

Photostat copies obtained from the Commonwealth Relations Office include *Tarikh-i-Dilkusha*, certain selections from the manuscript translation of Biker's *Collecao De Tratados* and from the manuscript Dutch Records (First Series-Translations-Letters from India), James Anderson's Journal when Resident at the Court of Mahadjee Scindia (1783-1785) and the representation of the Governor and Council of Bombay to the Directors in 1737 on the Maratha invasion of the Portuguese Northern Territories in the Deccan and their capture of Salsette with consequent danger to Bombay. Microfilm copies of documents relating to Indo-European Trade, the Maratha navy and the second Maratha War have been obtained from the Commonwealth Relations Office and the National Archives of France. Microfilm and photoprint copies of two Adhyayas of Dnyaneshwari manuscripts in the possession of Dr. D. V. Potdar have been secured and copies of two Persian manuscripts, *Insha-i-Shah-Tahir*. and *Ahwal-i-Asad-Beg* in the British Museum are being acquired.

The records of Bhadarava and Kurundwad States were inspected and the records of the Kurundwad State in the custody of the Mamlatdar of Shirol were transferred to the Kolhapur Record Office for deposit. The records of the Crown representative in the custody of the Regional Commissioner at Rajkot were transferred to the Baroda Record Office.

Volume I of the descriptive catalogue of the diaries of the Secret and Political Department upto 1820 and Volume II of Delhi Newsletters (relating to Scindia's Regency at Delhi) are in the press and will be published shortly.

*Madras Record Office*

The records of the Secretariat more than three years old and the records of the Board of Revenue more than ten years old have been transferred to the Madras Record Office as usual. Besides the annual accessions mentioned above, special accessions were made from time to time. The State Government had been appointing committees from time to time to consider specific matters but the records created by these committees were generally lost sight of after their work was completed and final reports submitted to the Government. In view of the importance and usefulness of the materials collected by these committees, it was recommended to the Government that they be transferred to the Madras Record Office. The suggestion having been approved, many such collections were received. These include the records of the Land Revenue Reforms Committee (1950-51), the Jail Reforms Committee (1950-51), the Textile

Enquiry Committee (1951) and the Leather Industry and Trade Enquiry Committee (1952).

The separation of records relating to the Andhra and Mysore States has been completed.

The catalogue of the publications of this office has been brought upto date and is being reprinted.

*Punjab Government Record Office, Simla*

Consequent on the abolition of the Commissionership of Ambala Division a vast collection of records illustrating the various political, territorial, and administrative changes brought about in the wake of the rise and growth of British power in that region, is being transferred to the Central Record Office. Some bundles of records covering the period 1822-1916 have also been received from the Old Delhi and Hissar Divisions. The papers deal with the extension and consolidation of the British dominions from Delhi to the Sutlej. All these records have been provisionally arranged and classified and a preliminary inventory prepared for reference. Being in a very poor state of preservation, due to long years of neglect, they require extensive repairs before they can be rendered serviceable.

*Record Department, West Bengal*

The transfer of records from Berhampore to Calcutta was completed in February 1954 and additional steel racks and shelves have been installed. The administrative records of the Secretariat for 1949-50 have been received and steps are being taken to acquire the old records of the merged State of Cooch Behar. A collection of records and publications of the "Provisional Government of Free India," which was established during the war in East Asia by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, have been purchased.

Indexes to the proceedings of various Government Departments for the period 1917-28 were consolidated and sent to the press. The Government has also decided to publish a volume of selections from the old district records relating to the salt industry and trade.

*State Central Records Office, Bihar*

All records at present lying scattered in the offices of the Board of Revenue, Commissioners of Division and District Officers are being collected and preserved in the State Central Records Office, Bihar, known till March 1954 as the Civil Secretariat Record Room. Research scholars have access, subject to the usual rules and regulations, to all records upto 1901.

*Secretariat Records Office, Assam*

The Secretariat Records Office has now been put under the charge of a whole-time qualified Keeper of Records. About 6000 files from various Government agencies were transferred for preservation and safe keeping. The amalgamated Indexes to Government Proceedings for 1946, 1947 and 1948 are ready for the press.

*State Board for Historical Records and Ancient Monuments, Bombay*

The State Board for Historical Records and Ancient Monuments was set up in December 1949 for a term of three years in the first instance. It successfully completed the first term of its existence and was reconstituted in February 1953 and made more compact. At its first meeting after reconstitution held on 14th January 1954, the following proposals with regard to records were considered: (1) rules for survey of ancient manuscripts, (2) legislation for preservation of old archives, documents, monuments and objects of historical importance, (3) measures to secure safe custody, listing, preservation and publication of all records, documents and old relics in the possession of trustees and Boards receiving Government grants either in cash or in some other form.

The regional committees have also been doing valuable work. The Board acquired from the British Museum photostat copies of the *Tazkirat-u-Muluk* of Rafi-ud-din Shirazi (1610 A.D.) and the *Futuhat-i-adil Shahi* of Fizuni Astrabadi (1646 A.D.). These are two important sources for the history of the Deccan.

Attempts were made to acquire the records of the priests at Nasik and Trimbakeshwar and the Sanskrit manuscripts in the possession of the Shastri families. The Jain Bhandars were being approached to make their records available to scholars. The question of framing general rules for the acquisition of manuscripts from private owners was under consideration.

*Regional Records Survey Committee, Madras*

The Committee suffered a severe loss by the death of Professor V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar. The Madras University has not yet nominated any one in his place. The Government of Madras, in pursuance of a resolution of the Committee passed at its meeting on 5 September 1953, has permitted the Convener, in order to secure wide publicity for the aims and objects of the Committee and the rapid discovery of records in private custody, to co-opt members upto a maximum of six to represent varied interests such as ancient zamindar families, old commercial firms and newspapers of long standing. Under this regulation the Zamindar of Kapileswarapuram Sri B. B. Sarvarayudu Garu and Mr. J. C. Holcombe of Messrs Parry and Co. have been so far co-opted.

Every effort is being made to locate and secure documents of historical value in private custody, particularly reports of business agencies in Madras

to their principals in England and legal records in the possession of solicitors. With the co-operation of the Commissioners of the Hindu Religious Endowments Board a thorough search is being made for all manuscripts in temples, maths and religious institutions. A bundle of Telugu and Persian records was secured from the Zamindar of Perur and these papers are being scrutinized. A photographic copy was obtained of a Kannada manuscript relating to the conferment by a Nayak of Ikkeri of certain rights of worship in a temple in Mysore.

The Committee has undertaken the task of publishing a small booklet giving a gist of the contents of the manuscripts either obtained by it or discovered by it, so that it may serve as a guide to research workers in the field of modern Indian History. A further list of source records relating to the correspondence between the Kandregula family and the contemporary country powers was also prepared.

The Stations of All India Radio at Madras, Vijayawada and Tiruchinapalli have been giving considerable publicity to the aims and objects of the Committee. The co-operation of the teachers and students of history in several colleges in the Madras and Andhra States is also being invited. Although no new records have yet been located through these efforts, some of the lecturers in History have already offered their enthusiastic support, and it is hoped that some tangible results will accrue from it before long.

#### *Regional Records Survey Committee, Punjab*

The survey of official and private records in the State is being assiduously conducted through personal visits and correspondence. In November 1952 preliminary survey lists of the records in the office of the Commissioner of the Ambala Division were drawn up and 26 boxes containing English and Persian original records were transferred to the State Record Office, Simla. These records, which go back to 1803, throw considerable light on the expansion and consolidation of the British power in Northern India and their political relations with the Cis and Trans Sutlej Chiefs. Besides the administrative records, a large number of manuscripts, rare publications and historical relics were acquired from non-official sources, the Government having provided for a substantial grant under this head. The historical manuscripts and publications so obtained include a volume of *Jang Nama Lahore, Marasalajat*, Vol. II (1845-46), *Suan-i-umri Maharaja Ranjit Singh* by Ghulam Ali Khan and *Tarikh Rausai Punjab*, Vol. I by Sayad Hadi Hussain Khan. When owners of valuable documents are unwilling to part with them, advice has been given and free service rendered for their proper care and preservation.

#### *Regional Records Survey Committee, Uttar Pradesh*

The Committee was reconstituted for 5 years on 27 March 1953 with Professor Mohammad Habib as the convenor.

At its meeting held on 26 November 1952, it was decided, among other things, to secure copies of important records relating to Uttar Pradesh in the National Archives of India, to publish a comprehensive hand-book of the records in the Central Records Office at Allahabad, to hold annual history conferences of teachers and to organise exhibitions of historical Manuscripts in order to render the public archive-conscious.

The Government of Uttar Pradesh have accepted the recommendation of the Indian Historical Records Commission to recognise the Committee as a competent body to advise Government on matters relating to maintenance, preservation and appraisal of State records.

32 Persian records dealing with the administration in Oudh during the last two centuries were purchased from a private owner at Lucknow. Certain valuable collections were located in various parts of the State and efforts are being made to secure them.

#### *Regional Records Survey Committee, Madhya Bharat*

A meeting of the Regional Records Survey Committee of Madhya Bharat was held on 21 March 1953 at Gwalior. It noted with approval the action taken by the Education Department of the State in its efforts to secure historical records in the custody of Sardars, Jagirdars, Mafidars, Mahants etc., for the Historical Records Section of the State.

Efforts were made to secure copies of documents in the possession of the Jagirdar of Panth Piploda. The Committee recommended to Government that all non-current records of the smaller States upto the time of integration (1948) and, as far as Gwalior and Indore are concerned, all records of the Foreign and Political Department upto the time of integration and records of other departments upto 1914 should be transferred to the Historical Records Section of the State. The Committee also decided to publish a hand-book on the records of the covenanting States of Madhya Bharat.

#### *Regional Records Survey Committee, Bhopal*

Important material relating to the Mutiny in Central India and particularly regarding the activities of the Rani of Jhansi available in the Central Records Office, Bhopal, is being collected. As soon as the work is complete, it is intended to publish translation and extracts. Certain Persian and Urdu manuscripts which deal with the Taj Mahal and other buildings in Agra, Fatehpur Sikri and Delhi are being examined. Their date and authenticity have not yet been established, but the details contained therein as to the reasons for constructing these buildings, of the precious and semi-precious stones used in their construction, and the labour and time involved in the construction, are of great interest.

## INTERNATIONAL

### *International Congress of Libraries and Documentation Centres*

The organizing committee of the Congress appointed by the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA) and the International Federation for Documentation (FID) met in Paris on 15 and 16 October 1953 under the chairmanship of M. Pierre Bourgeois, President of IFLA. The Committee accepted the invitation from the Belgian Government to hold the Congress at Brussels in September 1955. The International Association of Music Libraries will co-operate with the two associations in making arrangements for the Congress.

The general theme for discussion will be "the tasks and responsibilities of libraries and documentation centres in modern life." In addition to the plenary meetings where common aspects of the theme will be discussed, the three organizations will also hold separate meetings to discuss their own particular problems. Some of the topics to be discussed at the plenary meetings will include: Documentary reproduction by photograph and microfilm, i) for preservation purposes, ii) for the constitution of records in depositories in the event of armed conflict, iii) for exchanges; material preservation of documents, and methods for their restoration and standardization of techniques in documentation.

### *International Federation for Documentation*

At the invitation of the National Documentation and Library Association of Yugoslavia, the Council meeting of FID will be held in Belgrade from 3 to 10 October 1954. FID also expects to hold specialized committee meetings on Universal Decimal Classification concurrently with the Council meetings.

### *International Standardization in the field of Microcopying*

UNESCO has undertaken the study of existing microcopying methods and practices throughout the world.

Within the International Organization for standardization (ISO) or more precisely within its Technical Documentation Committee (ISO/TC), a Sub-Committee on Documentary Reproduction was formed to deal *inter alia* with microcopying. It obtained the approval in September 1951 of a work plan comprising investigation in the following matters: standardization of terminology, bases recommended (transparent and opaque), classification and dimensions qualities, 16 mm microfilms in rolls, 35 mm microfilms in rolls and strips, micro-cards, microfilm cameras, readers and projectors, filming and preservation of microcopies etc. Each item in this programme was the subject of

discussion and exchange of views at the meetings held in Rome (September 1951), Paris (April 1952), Copenhagen (October 1952) and Paris (June 1953).

Microcopying techniques are, however, still in the process of evolution. Such recommendations as ISO can make would therefore reflect definite stages reached and outline, to a certain extent, future developments.

## UNITED KINGDOM

### *Public Record Office, London*

The most important event was the retirement of Sir Hilary Jenkinson in April 1954. Over a long stretch of time Sir Hilary has been the most distinguished figure in the archival profession, and generations of archivists all over the world have been schooled in his ways of thought. Indian archivists have particular reason to be grateful to him for his unstinted guidance and the generous interest he has always taken in *The Indian Archives*.

Sir Hilary Jenkinson has been succeeded as Deputy Keeper by Mr. D. L. Evans, the Principal Assistant Keeper at the Record Office.

According to the *114th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records*, 1952 was the first full year of use of the Ashridge repository and, owing to the limitations of space at Chancery Lane, considerable quantities of records of the 'open' classes were transferred to Ashridge. Records from twenty-seven Public Departments were received at the Hayes (limbo) repository. In all, 49,000 feet of shelves were occupied at Ashridge and 291,870 feet at the intermediate repositories. The departmental records transferred included 207 confidential volumes of the Foreign Office for the years 1923-1926, the Treasury Board papers for the years 1909-1914, 567 boxes of Chancery records, and 13 letter-books relating to the Peninsular War from the War Office. It is interesting to note that original microfilms are beginning to figure largely among the recent records.

The shortage of staff has necessitated a reduction of the work of the Public Record Office in all its aspects, but on the editorial side efforts were made to palliate this by employing ten external editors. Record publications issued during 1952 comprised *Curia Regis Rolls Vol. IX* and *Calendar of Treasury Books Vols. XX* (Parts I, II and III), *XXI* (Parts I and II), *XXIV* (Part I) and *XXV* (Part I). Work on *Guide to Seals in the Public Record Office* was completed. It will take the form of a single brochure in about 70 pages, consisting of a General Introduction to the study of Seals in England, followed by a survey of the types of Seals so far noted among the Public Records and of the classes in which they may be found.

The outstanding features of the work in the Repair Section have been the preparations to rebind *Domesday Book*, and the increased and systematic repair of seals.

*The British Museum*

The Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries in their report for 1949-53 have disclosed that in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum the catalogue of additions is 28 years in arrears, with the result that nearly 15,000 charters and 7,500 manuscripts are not easily available to the student, while over 5,000 manuscripts still await binding. Lack of staff, in other words, has brought the work of this Department almost to a standstill, and the Commissioners have even expressed their fear that if this state of things continues, the trustees of the British Museum might be forced to discontinue the acceptance of manuscripts because they were unable to take adequate steps for their preservation.

*Historical Manuscripts Commission*

As in the past the Historical Manuscripts Commission carried on its work at the Public Record Office in 1952, the Deputy Keeper serving as the Executive Commissioner and the Secretary Mr L. R. Atkinson devoting the greater part of his time to this work. The Commission's main work continued to be done through the National Register of Archives in the organization of voluntary help and the inspection of Manuscripts, giving advice and assistance to owners and generally acting as an intermediary between the owner and the student.

The Commission suffered a serious loss in the death on 1 April 1952 of its Registrar Lt. Col. G. E. G. Malet. He has been succeeded by Miss W. D. Coates who had worked with him as Assistant Registrar for six years.

*National Register of Archives*

The fifth Conference of the National Register of Archives was held by the Historical Manuscripts Commission on 24 March 1954. Photostats of documents on which reports have recently been made were exhibited, and there was a general discussion on the extent and value of Business Archives.

*British Records Association 20th and 21st Annual Conferences*

The 20th Annual Conference of the British Records Association was held in December 1952. At the *Technical Discussion Meeting* the subject of discussion was "the Care of Documents in Private Munitment Rooms." While private owners are often—and quite naturally—reluctant to part with their family archives, arrangements need to be made for their preservation and consultation, under proper supervision, by students. The three papers read by Lord Leconfield, Lord Spencer and Mr. I. B. Collis and the subsequent discussion covered this problem in all its aspects. Dr. C. H. Thompson, the County Archivist for Surrey, suggested that owners might come to an agreement with the appropriate county council whereby the documents physically

remain with the owner but are placed on loan in the custody of the county council and that in any future legislation respecting archives provision should be made for some financial assistance to private owners. Mr. R. L. Atkinson, who presided, repeated the warning given by other speakers of the harm which might befall family archives through the neglect by an uninterested heir and hoped that in such circumstances, owners would give sympathetic consideration to the claims of County Record Offices and other approved repositories. He urged owners and students to take advantage of the services of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

Papers were read at the *Publications Meeting* by Miss Joan Lancaster and Miss Kathleen Major on Recent Record Publications of Local Societies. Miss Lancaster gave a short survey of the material that had been published in recent years while Miss Major drew attention to the value of these publications in the study and teaching of diplomatic. It is hoped that these papers and the discussion which followed will increase the circulation of these publications and thereby benefit the local societies.

As in 1951, the *Records Preservation Section* at its annual meeting devoted its attention to a general discussion of the main topics contained in the Annual Report. A considerable body of opinion was alarmed at the destruction of Rate Books, and felt that greater care should be taken in weeding these rural records which were often of considerable historical value. It was generally felt that the service of searchers should be utilised in securing proper preservation of records in smaller muniment rooms. As the Section lacked funds to meet its annual expenditure which amounted to nearly £800, the question was raised at the Annual Meeting of the Association, and was promised consideration.

The subject for the *Discussion Meeting* was "the Work of Libraries in Archive Administration." Mr. G. Stephens, Borough Librarian of St. Marylebone, London, opening the discussion, said that Public Libraries had become archive-conscious and many of them were collecting local archives, but had not in recent years received the co-operation they had hoped for from the British Records Association. There followed a general discussion on the ideal as well as the existing relations between libraries and record offices.

The 21st Annual Conference was held in December 1953. At the *Publications Meeting* Miss Hilda Gireve pleaded for the use of illustrations in record publications, including calendars and guides; if chosen carefully, they would greatly help the reader in gaining a proper understanding of the records concerned. Mr. Fishenden, the Technical Editor of King Penguin Books, then spoke on the technical aspects of printing illustrations.

The *Records Preservation Section* devoted its time to general discussion. Sir Hilary Jenkinson, who presided, raised the question of fragmentation of archives. It had been suggested that sometimes, owing to limitations of space or staff, fragmentation became inevitable, and some principles should therefore be laid down for breaking up an archive group. But the general opinion was that this should be avoided by recourse to such devices as microfilming.

Postal History and Stamp Collecting and the preservation of documents in houses taken over by the National Trust were the other subjects discussed.

In place of the Technical Discussion Meeting there was *an Exhibition of Document Repairs*. Twenty-three local repositories were represented, and though the repair of each document entails its own problems, a striking feature of the exhibition was the uniformity and high standard of method, secured largely through the training and guidance given by the Public Record Office.

"The British Records Association: the first 21 years and the Future" was the subject for the *Discussion Meeting*. The Chairman, Sir Hilary Jenkinson, said the Association's aims were to take advantage of the growing interest in archives, coordinate the activities of the many bodies which concerned themselves with records, and create a well-informed public opinion. The Association had obviously many successes to its credit; membership was over a thousand, the Records Preservation Section had distributed about 500,000 documents to nearly 250 repositories, and recognition had been secured for the profession of archivist. But the Chairman added that there was still much work to be done; and many suggestions were made at the meeting as to the lines on which the future activities of the Association should be organised.

#### *The Document of Surrender of the German Armies 1945*

Considerable public discussion has been evoked recently in Great Britain by the disclosure of Field Marshal Lord Montgomery that he has retained in his possession the historic document of the surrender of the German armies in Europe in 1945. This is obviously a State Paper of the highest importance, but Her Majesty's Government have stated (in the House of Commons 22 June 1954) that they do not intend to take any steps to recover this document. It is interesting to remember, in this connection, that the document announcing the surrender of the French armies at Blenheim to the Duke of Marlborough is also in private hands, while the original text of the surrender at Yorktown is now untraceable. Whatever the precedents, it is doubtful if archivists can accept this position of public documents remaining in private possession. An article bearing on this subject appears elsewhere in this issue.

## CANADA

Materials in the Manuscript Division of the Public Archives of Canada have been organized in two groups. Official public records, which have been continuously in the custody of some branch of Government, have been arranged in record groups while private papers, transcripts or photographic reproductions of papers in other depositories, documents purchased, and other non-official materials have been arranged in a parallel series of manuscript groups. Thus Canada has adhered to its policy of keeping all archives, official and private, under one roof. A new series of preliminary inventories of these

manuscript groups has been begun, and those of Record Groups 7 and 11 have been published in booklet form.

\*Official records received during 1951 included the Privy Council records for 1929 and those of the Department of Resources and Development for 1928, and valuable acquisitions of private papers include those of the former Prime Ministers Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Arthur Meighen. Microfilm copies of the records of the Hudson's Bay Company in London are being prepared, and transcripts of records of Canadian interest in the National Archives of France are being purchased.

## UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

### *National Archives and Records Service*

Records of the House of Representatives which have been transferred to the National Archives and are more than fifty years old are now open to all. Thus the earlier restrictions in the use of these records have been greatly modified.

Over 4600 rolls of microfilm, reproducing over 3 million pages of records, are now available to students, and have been listed in the latest revised edition of *List of National Archives Microfilm Publications*. Finding aids published in 1952-53 include preliminary inventories of the records of certain committees of the House of Representatives and of the regional office records of the National Resources Planning Board. An illustrated leaflet describing the National Archives and some of the historic documents on display there has also recently been published.

With the addition of two more Federal Records Centres there are now 11 such Centres distributed over the country. It is interesting to note that Records Engineering, Inc., which was authorised to survey and report on the microfilming programmes of the United States Government recommends a Government-wide microfilming control programme which the firm believes will result in annual savings of \$2,400,000. These savings would flow from improvements in utilization of microfilm equipment, reductions in the cost of operating cameras and readers and the substitution of low-cost storage for records unsuited technically and economically for microfilming. It was also calculated that records in their original form can be preserved in these centres upto sixty years before the cost of maintenance equals the cost of microfilming.

The National Archives is assisting former President Harry S. Truman in surveying, classifying and selecting his personal papers for deposit with the United States Government. The papers are at present lodged in the Jackson County Court House, Kansas City, Missouri.

A training course has recently been instituted, and only those who pass the tests at the end of the course will be entitled to promotion in the

Department. The course provides general instruction in all aspects of archives administration.

*Library of Congress*

The Library of Congress has been presented with a valuable collection of papers of Whitelaw Reid (1937-1912), journalist and diplomat, by Mrs Helen Rogers Reid and her son. The approximately 30,000 manuscripts and 170 volumes cover most of Reid's career from his early journalistic work in Ohio to his ambassadorship at the Court of St. James, 1905-1912. Other significant additions are a collection of 62 volumes of records dealing with the military career of Ulysses Grant from the time he took command of the Federal forces in 1861 until he became President of the United States in 1869, and nearly 27,000 papers of Norman H. Davis (1878-1944) covering most of his public career from the days of the Versailles Conference. The papers of the late Senator Robert Taft have also been deposited in the Library, but are not yet available for examination.

Till 1912 only paper prints of motion picture films were registered for copyright, and such prints are in many cases the only surviving copies of early motion pictures. The Library after six years of research has developed a method for producing positive motion picture films from these paper prints. Two catalogues of motion pictures covering the periods 1894-1912 and 1940-1949 have been published, supplementing the list for 1912-1939 published in 1951, thus completing the list of all motion pictures copyrighted in the United States upto 1949.

Microfilm copies of the archives of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the years 1867 to 1945 which run into two million pages of documents have been secured. These films cover virtually the entire field of Japanese diplomacy.

In January 1954 a theft of some unbound documents was noticed in the Manuscript Division of the Library. These papers were later recovered, but the Library has since decided as a measure of security to mark all its manuscripts, even though this runs counter to accepted archival principles.

*The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library*

Students of the recent past all over the world will be interested in this Library which houses, besides the vast collection of the Roosevelt papers, the papers of Henry Morgenthau Jr., Harry Hopkins and John G. Winant. All these, excepting those dealing with family affairs or likely to prejudice friendly relations with foreign states, are open to research scholars even without any scrutiny of excerpts. This decision to open records so soon after their creation, when many of the personages concerned are still alive, is unprecedented, and it is hoped that students will prove worthy of this trust.

The core of this collection is the immense correspondence that Roosevelt carried on with private individuals on every manner of subject, including foreign relations. These letters are to a large extent found in a file of 9,000 folders, arranged only by name of the correspondent. To facilitate consultation a subject index to these folders has been compiled.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Career of Mir Jafar Khan 1757-1765* by A. C. Roy (Calcutta, 1953 ; pp. x + 339 ; Price Rs. 14).

THE career of Mir Jafar spans almost the full course of the revolution in Bengal. He came to Bengal probably in the time of Murshid Quli Khan, assisted Alivardi in the successful campaign which placed him on the masnad of Murshidabad, and supported Siraj-ud-Daulah in his succession to the nizamat of the three subahs—Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. He continued to support Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah in his initial campaign against two of his rivals, Bibi Ghasiri his aunt at Motijhil and Shaukat Jang his cousin, who was Nawab of Purnea, and also in the attack on the English which resulted in their expulsion from Calcutta and the complete stoppage of their business in Bengal.

This is not to say that Mir Jafar was completely loyal either to the regime or to the person of Siraj-ud-Daulah. He had already at Burdwan in 1749 taken part in a conspiracy to overthrow Alivardi, along with another of his relatives, Ata'ullah. He had been stripped of his offices and disgraced on that occasion, but neither banished from Bengal nor imprisoned. This is significant, for the shrewd Alivardi would not have retained a dangerous or disloyal general. Mir Jafar had been later restored to favour, and his aid enlisted, and loyalty sworn to ensure the smooth succession of Siraj-ud-Daulah.

In the general feeling of exultation after the success of the Calcutta campaign in June 1756, Mir Jafar was restored also to his office of Paymaster General of the Forces. But Siraj-ud-Daulah's irascible temperament, bitter and scornful tongue, and arbitrary decisions coupled with his lack of wisdom, statecraft or capacity to inspire loyalty or devotion, quickly alienated all of Alivardi's old servants and friends and there is little doubt that during the rains of 1756 Mir Jafar was the leader of a party at the Court of Murshidabad which was in contact with Nawab Shaukat Jang of Purnea and encouraged him in his bid to supplant Siraj-ud-Daulah. Dr. Roy in his biography has dealt with these episodes, and other known facts of the early career of Mir Jafar, but we would have welcomed some indication of their significance as pointers to the next stage in his career, and in the final appraisal of his character. The stereotyped version of his treachery against Siraj-ud-Daulah—disloyalty would be a better translation of the Persian term *bughi* used by the chroniclers in this connection—does Mir Jafar some injustice. None of the eighteenth century successor regimes which were growing up in India on the ruins of the Mughal Empire were entitled to a full quantum of loyalty, either from officials, military officers, merchants or the common man. This was something that had to be earned. We must beware of reading twentieth century ideas of what constitutes treason against the state, into eighteenth century India. Nawab Mir Jafar's real offence, with which he may be charged at the bar of history, is that he did not take a sufficiently active, or straight-

forward part in the Plassey campaign to overthrow Siraj-ud-Daulah. His position was delicate and even dangerous, but the need to sign a completely one sided treaty with the English before obtaining their agreement to march is not obvious, nor the necessity of swearing his loyalty to Siraj on the eve of the battle, nor his remaining inactive and neutral during the battle. If the summit of his ambition was to rule and lead Bengal—and this regime, it should be remembered, was largely a military one—then the time to begin was before Plassey, not after this clear demonstration on 23 June 1757 and subsequently that he was placed on the masnad and supported there by Colonel Clive and his army.

The eight years that followed proved this amply. We are given again by most writers a stereotyped picture of a feeble old man, a drug-addict, rather pathetic in his inability either to rule successfully or command any allegiance from his subjects or respect from his allies the English. I do not think that a study of his correspondence, as summarised in the Calendars of Persian Correspondence, and given elsewhere, altogether bears this out. There is certainly a reliance on the dominant personality of Clive, matched by a reluctance to be guided to anything like the same extent by Holwell or Vansittart. But fundamentally the impression that emerges is of a consciousness of military dependence, of helplessness in competing with or even doing without, the efficient and formidable troops of his ally the English. Mir Jafar was already, in his own evaluation of his position, a mediatized prince, and by and large content to be so, in spite of his occasional attempts to secure aid from the Dutch etc.

But within the limits of that dependent status, he exerted what influence he could to maintain his position. He displayed considerable powers of resistance, as Dr. Roy has made clear, to Vansittart's proposals which led to his replacement by his son-in-law, Mir Qasim. He made considerable efforts to carry out his obligations, financial and otherwise, to the Company and its officers, and to resist the encroachments of private merchants and Company's servants on the trade and revenue of Bengal by the illegitimate use of *dastaks* and arbitrary usurping of trade in such articles as salt, betelnut and rice. The copies of the Persian Correspondence in the National Archives of India contain many examples of his protests, reasoned, dignified, and often effective in having abuses remedied. Particularly after his restoration in 1763 we find him active in resisting undue claims for private donations, and in protesting continuously at attempts to encroach on his authority or on that of his officers. His untimely death (for there is no need to suppose that his age was any more than sixty when he died, since his first marriage did not take place till about 1727), cut short his efforts, but there is little doubt that he was learning and learning fast, how to deal with his masters at Calcutta and was by and large capable of dealing with them, and of maintaining his status with dignity and prestige as a semi-independent ruler. In particular he was looking forward to the return of Lord Clive, upon whom he looked in the light of a warm friend and a firm patron, to settle his various disputes with

the authorities at Calcutta. This last characteristic of his rule has not been stressed by Dr. Roy in his otherwise admirable account. There is still room for further study of this period among the Persian documents and the documents translated from Persian in the National Archives of India. In particular I would draw attention to what appear to be earlier drafts in Persian of Mir Jafar's treaty with the Dutch, and his later treaties with the English.

Mir Jafar is by no means an ideal character, either as a man or as a ruler, but the ordinary text book account of his character and achievements needs revision and Dr. Roy's work has helped considerably in producing a clearly written, balanced and factual account of his career. Some readers may be put off by the numerous and mostly obvious misprints in this book, and still more by a certain haziness and lack of system in the spelling of proper nouns and technical terms (*subah* not *subha*, *jagir* not *jaghir*, *darogha* not *darogah*). But the book fills a real gap in our knowledge of eighteenth century Bengal, and will, it is hoped, serve as a stimulus to further research. This is needed, particularly among the family papers and scattered collections of manuscripts still available in many corners of India and the riches, still largely unexplored, of the National Archives at Delhi. Our main reliance for this period must of course be upon the contents of the late India Office library and certain collections in the British Museum and elsewhere in the United Kingdom, but more and more is coming to light in India itself, and future research will have to be done not in one country or the other, but in both.

A. HUGHES

*Colony of Mauritius—Annual Report of the Archives Department for the year 1952 (Port Louis, 1953; pp. 29, Price 50 cents).*

**T**HIS modest looking Report of the Mauritius Archives Department for 1952 records within its pages much information regarding its many activities.

Important acquisitions of the Department during this period included, among others, immigration records of the former office of the Protector of immigrants, records of the Poor Law Office and some private collections. Such a transfer of older records is quickly transforming the Mauritius Archives into a repository of all historically significant records of the Government and an invaluable centre for historical research.

The usefulness of comprehensive guides to records, hand-books, inventories, descriptive listing and indexes cannot be over-emphasised. It is heartening to learn that the Mauritius Archives, aware of its responsibility in this respect, is making earnest efforts to meet the popular demand. There was a general increase in the number of research scholars and reference requests. The total amount of Rs. 1,586.75 collected as fees indicates in a measure the success of its manifold activities and programmes.

The most significant event recorded in the *Report* is the new legislative measure passed to consolidate and amend the law on public archives which had been under consideration since 1948. By this new legislation (i) the definition of public archives is enlarged to include not only records of Government departments but also those of local administrative bodies and other public corporations, institutions and organizations, (ii) provision is made for publishing the contents of the repository and (iii) a special committee is appointed to deal with the disposal and destruction of records.

The Bibliographical survey started in 1951 with the object of tracing and recording material relating to Mauritius made good progress during 1952. In this connection the Chief Archivist, Dr. A. Toussaint, visited several archival centres in India to collect relevant material.

The *Report* ends with a long list of publications that were printed in Mauritius in 1952 and deposited in the Archives Office for record purposes.

DHAN KESWANI

*Studies in Deccan History* by K. Sajun Lal (Madras, 1951; pp. iv + 157 : Price Rs. 3).

DURING the latter half of the 18th century the history of the Deccan presents a dismal picture of political makeshifts, selfish intrigues and devastating wars waged between the four powers contesting for supremacy in that quarter, i.e. the Marathas, the Nizam of Hyderabad, Haidar Ali and the English East India Company. Indeed after 1761, the picture becomes gloomier. In that year events of far-reaching consequences occurred in the South. The defeat of the Peshwa Baji Rao in the third battle of Panipat had not only smashed his dreams for the establishment of the Maratha hegemony in Northern India but had also shaken the edifice of Maratha supremacy in the Deccan to its foundations. Balaji Baji Rao could not survive the shock and died soon after the battle, leaving his minor son Madho Rao, the new Peshwa, to contest for power with his more influential and intriguing uncle Raghunath Rao. Henceforth the faction between the members of the Peshwa family and the active participation of Gopikabai, the widow of Peshwa Baji Rao and Anandi Bai, the wife of Raghunath Rao in the politics of the country further complicated matters. The Maratha Chiefs like Bhonsle and Holkar tried to fish in the troubled waters instead of remaining loyal either to the Peshwa at Poona or to the royal house of Shivaji at Satara. Again, it was during the year 1761 that Haidar Ali usurped the throne of Mysore. Nizam Ali superseded his less influential brother Salabut Jung as the ruler of Hyderabad, and Clive captured Pondicherry from the French, an event which ultimately decided the outcome of the Seven Years War between the English

and the French in India. Once the British were free from the dread of the French in the Deccan, they evinced greater interest in the struggle for supremacy between the Marathas, Haidar Ali and Nizam Ali of Hyderabad. In these circumstances it was inevitable that the British, being a stronger party, should have profited the most from the situation, but the most interesting fact in the history of the Deccan during this period is that Nizam Ali Khan, who in the initial stages of the struggle was the weakest of all the three local contestants, was the only party who survived the trial of strength.

*Studies in Deccan History*, written by K. Sajun Lal, provides a very interesting narrative of the period under reference. The book is a collection of twelve articles published earlier in various journals during the years 1939-1946. Article I deals with the battle of Shrigonda which was fought in December 1761 between the Peshwa and the Nizam. The Nizam had forced this battle on the Marathas at a time when the wounds received by them at Panipat were still fresh and the young Peshwa Madho Rao had just succeeded his father Baji Rao. The Nizam took this step in order to avenge his defeat at the hands of the Marathas at the battle of Udgir. Article II deals with the negotiations of Madho Rao I with the English Government at Bombay in 1761. In order to counter the aggression of the Nizam, Peshwa Madho Rao sought the help of the British and started a correspondence with the English Governor of Bombay. The correspondence ultimately broke down as the British insisted on the cession of Salsette in return for aid. The Peshwa refused to accept these terms as by that time peace had already been settled between the Marathas and the Nizam. Article III gives a brief glimpse of the efforts made by the English to secure the monopoly of pepper and sandalwood trade in Mysore in 1764 and how Haidar Ali tried to barter his markets for English aid against the Marathas, while articles IV to IX deal with the relations of the Marathas and the Nizam of Hyderabad during the years 1762-1796, covering the battle of Kharda and the treaty of Mahad signed between the belligerents on 8 October 1796. Articles X and XI deal with miscellaneous topics such as an adoption case under Peshwa Baji Rao II and the extortion by Elphinstone of gold from Naroba Outia, a Brahman killadar of Rayagurh, after Poona had fallen into British hands in 1818. Naroba was tortured for months to secure an admission that it was the Peshwa's money he was giving to the English. The last article entitled "Nawab Umdat-ul-Omrah and the Court of the Recorder at Madras" deals with the notorious relations between the Nawab of the Carnatic and the Governor and members of the English Council in Madras during the 18th century. The book concludes with four appendices giving excerpts from the Political records of the East India Company relating to the subjects dealt with by the author and a detailed bibliography. The book under review will be of value to scholars as it is based mostly on unpublished records and other contemporary source materials and throws much light on many interstices of the history of this period.

*Historical Editing* by Clarence E. Carter. Bulletin of the National Archives No. 7. (Washington, 1952; pp. 51)

HISTORICAL editing is a very difficult task and it cannot possibly be governed by a set of rigid rules because of the difference in the nature of documents to be published. Attempts have, however, been made from time to time to lay down certain general principles to achieve some measure of uniformity in the procedures for editing of records publications. This bulletin, written by an eminent American editor of records, has been issued by the National Archives of the United States primarily for the guidance of the members of its staff who are engaged on editing work; but its perusal will also be very helpful to other editors, particularly those who are making their first attempt in this field. Dr. Carter has systematically treated the various problems connected with historical editing and has suggested in general the widely accepted methods of solving them. This short treatise covers all the processes involved in the task beginning from the search for relevant materials to the arrangements for printing and in each case useful hints have been provided by the author. Editors perhaps will not find it possible to adopt in detail the various procedures prescribed in the bulletin under review because of the differences in the materials they have to handle and the various limitations under which the edited volumes are to be produced but a study of this bulletin will certainly help them to avoid many of the common errors in editing.

The object of historical editing is to furnish records material to students in its full and unaltered shape and Dr. Carter has therefore laid special emphasis on the objective treatment on the part of the editor in the selection and editing of documents. If the editor shapes his work to meet any interest other than that of the scholars there is danger of his completely losing objectivity in his work. This, however, does not mean that there should be rigid uniformity in historical editing. It is, indeed, bound to be affected by the individuality of the editor and his predilections.

The pages of the bulletin dealing with textual criticism are to be recommended for special attention of the inexperienced editors who should carefully detect spurious records and establish the authenticity of each document selected for publication. Experience has shown that quite often fabricated papers have been accepted as genuine when not subjected to proper textual criticism.

In regard to the preparation of the text for publication the author has recommended the literal reproduction of the originals including the varied peculiarities of the writer's spellings, abbreviations, punctuation and capitalization etc., a principle from which many of the editors of records publications find it convenient to depart.

The compilation of the index, an essential part of a records publication, is another difficult part of the editor's job. As rightly pointed out by the author it should be done by the editor himself or his associates. A professional

indexer cannot possibly do it well unless he is well acquainted with the subject matter of the documents.

The bulletin is an excellent exposition of a difficult theme and Dr. Carter's work will be usefully employed by the editors of historical documents along with the two *Reports on the Editing of Historical Documents* prepared by the Committees appointed by the Anglo-American Conference of Historians and the *Notes for the Guidance of Editors of Records Publications* issued by the British Records Association.

V. C. JOSHI

# THE INDIAN ARCHIVES

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## THE IMPORTANCE OF ARCHIVES FOR NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

THE value of archives for national planning and reconstruction is not sufficiently realized. Most of the states do not possess any organized archives and some that do possess such archives cannot be said to utilise them to the fullest extent possible or necessary. And yet, there can be no doubt that the very object with which the archives are preserved is to make them readily available for assisting administration. Nor can there be any doubt that the archives, recording as they do, all the achievements and aspirations of past governments, contain a mine of information on all sorts of administrative, economic and social schemes for reform. In them are treasured up the most considered views and ideas of the most experienced statesmen, administrators and legislators of the past on a variety of vital matters of public interest. Here are to be found all files containing the reports of the Special Officers, Committees, Heads of Departments, and the remarks, opinions and orders of the Government. Here also are to be found all files containing the comments and criticisms made in the press and on the platform, and the discussions and resolutions of the Legislature. Several of these files are still of interest inasmuch as they relate to matters which are still agitating the minds of men. This is indeed but natural since most of the problems of the present have been inherited from the past.

My own acquaintance with the Madras archives has convinced me that there is practically no current subject of importance upon which some valuable light is not thrown by the archives. Thus, for instance, there is in the Madras archives an abundance of material on the abolition of the Zamindari system, on tenancy reforms, on irrigation schemes, on the separation of the judiciary from the executive, on the reforms in civil and criminal law, on the existence of hitherto untapped minerals like lead, silver, copper, iron, lignite etc., on the development of large and small scale industries, on the revival of fine arts, cottage industries, and on several matters connected with local self-government, public

health, education, medical aid, co-operation, labour conditions, unemployment, famine, etc.

Other archives also, like the Madras archives, are bound to contain much useful material for national reconstruction. And the utility of archives from this standpoint lies not so much in their showing what the reformers of the past actually achieved as in their showing what those reformers endeavoured to do or thought could be done under circumstances more propitious than their own. Many proposals for reform which are still of living interest might have been fully considered in the past, and yet only a few of them might have been implemented, and that too partially, the rest having been postponed for future consideration or better times. Many might have been propounded by statesmen and administrators far in advance of their times. Many, again, might have been scotched or killed for some reason or other ; it might have been the interests of the governing classes, it might have been powerful vested interests, or it might have been want of funds or lack of proper facilities. It is up to the archivists to suggest ways by which all this valuable information can be made readily available to our statesmen and administrators.

Wherever the archives are properly organized, the administrators, of course, make use of them for carrying on the day-to-day administration. The degree to which this use is made, however, varies from state to state. In Madras considerable use is made of the archives. The Madras Record Office sends out annually on requisition to the various departments of the Secretariat and other offices about 35,000 records for reference and consultation. It also undertakes about 800 searches on intricate or difficult questions annually. It moreover supplies full notes based on a study of records on all important matters of policy and reform referred to it by the Government. But it does not appear that the same is true in the case of all other archives ; and even if it is true, I think that it is possible to make a fuller use of the archives.

This fuller use, however, can be made only if the Governments become fully conscious of the importance of archives. But this is not so easy. In an age of democracy, of intense administrative and legislative activity, it is but natural that our statesmen who constitute the Government should be too much engrossed by the present to think of the past. They have to consider hundreds of changes and reforms demanded by the clamorous public. They are, therefore, apt to hurry through things ; they are apt to see the various ills with which the state is beset and are apt to set about immediately to prescribe remedies. If they pause to think, they do so only with a view to ascertaining what their contempo-

raries, whether experts or committees in this or other countries, have to say. In fact, it would appear that in most cases they are not aware of the importance of the archives. All this should be changed. They should not forget that the archives are primarily preserved for their use and that they contain innumerable valuable suggestions for reform and reconstruction.

Administrators likewise sometimes seem to think that the past can have nothing to offer to the present generation which is much more advanced in every way. This assumption, as I have already shown, is utterly erroneous. It does not take into account the fact that every age is capable of producing sincere reformers and good administrators. The present has no more the monopoly of such men than the past or the future. This assumption should therefore be condemned wherever it crops up and a broad general outlook developed by the administrators. They should be anxious to welcome and consider all suggestions for change and reform which the archives have to offer.

Every time, therefore, an important change or reform is contemplated, the Government should make it a point to ask their archivist to furnish all available information bearing upon the subject. The archivist should then collect this information, and incorporate it in a clear, comprehensive note for the use of the Government. Only if the information collected is insufficient should the Government go in for Special Officers or Committees. If this procedure is adopted, a good deal of time, labour and expense can be saved.

Where in view of the great importance of the subject the Government consider it necessary straightaway to appoint a Special Officer, Committee or Commission, they should lay down that such an Officer, Committee or Commission, should obtain all available materials bearing on the subject from the archives through the archivist and give it due weight in formulating proposals. The archivist should trace and collect all the relevant information and submit it in the shape of notes. All this would enable the Government to possess full information before passing final orders.

I am aware that conservative opinion confines the duties of the archivist mainly to the physical and moral defence of the archives and permits him little scope for assisting either historical research or administration. I, however, do not agree in this opinion. I admit that matters like housing, safe custody, preservation, classification and arrangement should occupy much of his attention. But these are not his only duties. I consider that he should devote equal attention to fulfilling the needs of administrators which is the chief object with

which the archives are preserved and looked after. I have shown elsewhere how the administrators left to themselves are not in a position to make proper use of the archives. Their memories are short and their means insufficient for collecting all the required information from the huge collections of archives. The archivist is the only person best acquainted with all the different series of records ; he has his catalogues and indexes, which cover a long period of years and show at once what information is required, where it is available and in what series. He is the most competent person to trace, collect, study and furnish readily all the available information, in a proper, digestible form to the administrators. If he does not do this work, no one else will do it. He may require some assistance, but that should be given ungrudgingly. It is because this branch of his duty is neglected in many places that the archives too remain neglected. It may, however, be noted that he can assist the Government in this manner only where the archives have been more or less properly organized.

Nor is this all. The Government of India can go a step further and award research scholarships on important selected subjects to be studied with the aid of archives. The subjects selected pertaining to history, economics or politics should invariably be those that have a direct bearing on current administrative problems such as tenancy reforms, unemployment, labour questions, etc. It should be possible at any given time to suggest more than a score of subjects of this nature seeing that in these days of the welfare state the Governments have to deal with numerous problems of reform and reconstruction. By this method it should be possible to produce within a few years a number of studies of living interest on various administrative, economic and social topics.

The universities too can co-operate in this matter and suggest every year several subjects of current interest for theses for the higher degrees. It is a pity that historical research in India has not yet stepped out of the theatre of wars and diplomacy and taken its place in the building of a welfare state. So long as history remains purely political it loses much of its value, but as soon as it becomes administrative, economic or social it gains at once in importance. And here we may also observe that the days of general history, whether political, economic or social, are passing away ; what is wanted at present are detailed studies or monographs on specific topics, movements and ideas that vitally affect the life of the country. And these detailed studies can be brought out best only with the aid of archives. \*

It is needless to say that if these suggestions are accepted a vast amount of material of the utmost value for national reconstruction can

be resurrected from the archives and made available in a clear, concise and handy form to the statesmen and administrators. The archivists' notes, the studies sponsored by the Government of India and the theses produced by the universities would throw a flood of light on many pressing problems of the day. They would furnish the Government of India and the State Governments with ideas, opinions, suggestions and schemes for reforms. They would, at the same time, by bringing out all past objections, tend to eliminate all wild, impracticable schemes and suggestions. This sobering effect which the archives are likely to produce would perhaps be not a little welcome in these days of boundless enthusiasm.

It is, however, well to remember that, unless it is clearly demonstrated in a sufficiently large number of cases that the archives are of considerable importance in building up a strong, stable and contented State, no Government will pay them as much attention as they deserve. But the moment this is shown, their obscurity will vanish and they will come to play a very useful part in national reconstruction and, in return, receive handsome treatment at the hands of the public and the Governments.

B. S. BALIGA

## THE INDIAN POSTAGE STAMPS OF 1854-55<sup>1</sup>

TO celebrate the centenary of the first India postage stamps an International Philatelic Exhibition was held in New Delhi during 1954.

In 1853 following the lead of European countries the Government of India was anxious to introduce into India the use of adhesive postage stamps. Since their requirements could not be met by printers in England for two or three years, they asked whether the work could be undertaken at the Surveyor General's offices in Calcutta.

Before 1852 there had been no machinery or staff at the Surveyor General's office for printing the very large number of maps that were compiled and drawn by the staff of highly skilled European and Indian draughtsmen. The more important maps were sent to England to be there engraved or printed by lithography, whilst other maps were printed in Calcutta, either by private commercial firms or at the Government Lithographic Press, which was largely engaged in the printing of forms, but had a small map-printing section. This section was not under the direct orders of the Deputy Surveyor General, and its work was not of a very high order.

At that time the Deputy Surveyor General in charge of all Surveyor General's offices at Calcutta was Captain Henry Thuillier. After repeated efforts he had obtained Government's sanction early in 1852 for the transfer of three presses from the Lithographic Press, and to have others constructed in the Mathematical Instrument Workshop that was under his own direction. This lithographic printing was of the very simplest nature, the maps being drawn on transfer paper in special ink, and then laid down on stone which had been imported from England. A second colour could be printed by a separate operation.

In February 1854 Captain Thuillier reported to Government that he was ready to take up the printing of the postage stamps: "Having received instructions to report on the means at present available for designing and lithographing a large number of postage stamps, I have the honour of submitting for the consideration of Government that, having tried a few experiments in coloured lithography, I believe there

<sup>1</sup> These notes are taken from the "Miscellaneous Letter-Entry Book" of the Deputy Surveyor General now in the custody of the National Archives of India under the label DDn. 563, old DSG/1 or 14/12, and also from the Surveyor General's Office files of 1916 and 1921. Further information could doubtless be found amongst the correspondence of the Home Department, Government of India, and from letters to and from the Court of Directors, 1853 to 1856. Reports on these stamps from information collected from various sources by Mr. T. K. Tapling, M.P., during a visit to Calcutta in 1889, were read before the Philatelic Society in London in January and March 1891, and published by that Society in 1892 in their report entitled *Postage Stamps of British India and Ceylon*.

will be no great difficulty in carrying out the wishes of Government, provided I am supplied with an adequate establishment . . . .

"The accompanying four specimens of stamps (Half-Anna, One-Anna, Four-Annas, Eight-Annas) have been drawn on transfer paper and struck off in a hurried manner . . . .

"If these designs are approved, I propose to get them carefully engraved on the stone, and then multiplied by transfer so as to cover a moderate size stone containing, say, . . . 144 stamps which, being pulled in a royal size press, 300 sheets may be obtained in one day, and on an average one-million [stamps] per mensem. Provided always that the drawings on the stones do not become thick and bad . . . .

"The stamps in single colors are the most easily produced. They are also . . . more business-like, and adapted for commercial purposes. The double colors will require immense time and care, and [may] not always prove successful.

"The difficulty of forging stamps in any remunerative quantity will be very great, . . . and . . . cannot . . . be effected out of Calcutta, and not in Calcutta without almost a certainty of detection. I would . . . suggest that all the stamps may be in one color only, each one of course different, or the Eight-Anna stamp only to be in two colors as in the specimen . . . .

"The present limited establishment . . . has been altogether inadequate to execute the demands made upon it [for maps] by the several Governments of this Presidency. It was transferred to this department only in April 1852 . . . Insufficient . . . as the means at my disposal are for the calls for maps of the surveys of the present day, . . . the attainment of 30 million of stamps . . . will demand a corresponding increase of both establishment and stock.

"I have therefore estimated . . . for an increase of only 6 presses with a complement of working men, and 2 presses spare, necessary for transfer purposes.

"As . . . such work demands the nicest and most careful watching, . . . I am anxious for an European Assistant of artistical qualities, who is able to engrave on the stone, and otherwise competent to conduct printing work.

"I have heard of such a person now in Calcutta who might be induced to take service on a salary of Rs. 250 per mensem . . . .

"In the Superintendent of the Press, Mr. H. M. Smith, the Government possess a most excellent . . . public servant, to whom is due all the credit of the designs.

"The entire establishment now proposed, together with the additional

stock required, will . . . produce 30 millions of stamps at a cost of about 200 Rupees a million, not inclusive of paper."<sup>2</sup>

Government gave prompt approval to the four specimen stamps and also to the increase of establishment: "Suptg. Head Draftsman, Rs. 100—European Draftsman, Rs. 250—European Assistant Draftsman Rs. 50—Press Asst., Rs. 60—2 Draftsmen @ 50, Rs. 100—2 Draftsmen @ 40, Rs. 80—4 Engravers @ 30, Rs. 120—Writer, Rs. 30—6 Printers @ 12, Rs. 72—6 Spongemen @ 6, Rs. 36—18 Pressmen @ 4, Rs. 72—4 Inkmakers @ 4, Rs. 16—2 Duftrees @ 8, Rs. 16—2 Paper Wetters @ 5, Rs. 10—4 Chokidars @ 6, Rs. 24—1 Jemadar, Rs. 12—2 Peons @ 6, Rs. 12—Extension of Office Room, Rs. 75—Total, Rs. 1,135."<sup>3</sup>

Particular care was taken to select a suitable water-marked paper on which to print the stamps. The first sample received from Serampore was of "too rough a texture for lithographic printing. . . . If a finer and better description of paper can be supplied it will answer well . . . as a preventive against counterfeit imitations." But on 9 March Thuillier reported that he had "visited the Stationery and Stamp Offices, and . . . selected a . . . water-mark paper received from England on which the stamps for deed and promissory notes are struck off. This paper is well fitted for lithographic purposes and, being very nearly entirely covered with a good and distinct watermark, will . . . serve for the postage stamps until a more suitable article is expressly made.

"This paper is of a peculiar quality and, independent of the watermark, could not be well imitated. . . . The Superintendent of Stamps informs me that an ample supply of this paper exists in Calcutta, and that a sufficient quantity can be furnished to me at once."

On 31 March he asks the Superintendent of Stationery for "a case of the stamps paper No. 4, to which size we have arranged our blocks of postage stamps for the present. Be good enough to specify the exact quantity in the box, as it will be necessary for this Department to render an account of every sheet of paper.

"The No. 3 paper . . . is of a different size. I propose therefore arranging our blocks to suit this number in a few days. There being an ample supply of these two papers (150 reams of each) for present purposes, it has not been deemed necessary to employ the small size paper No. 5 for the lower value stamps which are the ones most urgently desired. In a few days, however, we may be able to bring it into use for the higher value stamps."

The first point of importance, he writes on 1 May, "was the

<sup>2</sup> DDn. 563(180), DSG. to GG in C., thro' Mr. Halliday, Member of Council.  
<sup>3</sup> Home Dept. to DSG., 2-3-54.

attainment of a representation of Her Majesty's head. . . . After repeated trials, and the preparation of a great number of designs, a bust drawn on transfer paper and afterwards engraved upon the stone, with the words 'India' at the top . . . and 'Half Anna' at the bottom, was adopted as the standard. . . .

"A sufficient number were laid off upon the stone so as to preserve uniformity, to form a convenient block of one hundred and twenty, three of such blocks filling the sheet of stamp paper."

The Stamp Office supplied "two small canisters of the prepared vermilion for the Half-Anna stamps", but it was not a success. "A considerable number of stones were prepared, and after many disappointments and unceasing labor, the stones were charged with the red vermilion English lithographic ink, a very small quantity of which I happened to have by me, and a few hundred sheets . . . were struck off. . . .

"On the small quantity of the English prepared vermilion ink being expended, color of apparently similar quality was obtained from the Stamp Office, but this was found entirely to destroy the impressions on the stone, the proofs coming off thick and smeared, and losing the uniformity of the likeness. . . .

"From the properties of the mineral substance in the vermilion<sup>4</sup> and from repeated and most careful trials, it is now evident that it will be impossible . . . to produce the Half-Anna stamps in the quantity required in that color.

"All the stones so prepared were cleaned off, and the whole of the materials . . . were made up fresh from the purest ingredients obtained from the Hon'ble Company's Dispensary, and in our own presence, doubts having arisen as to the purity of the transfer ink . . . previously used.

"A careful engraving on copper has been made, . . . and . . . transfers have been obtained which are undoubtedly superior to the former lithographic standard. . . .

"The blocks were again formed on the stones, . . . but in smaller blocks of 96 each, . . . with a view of making them more conveniently saleable in equal rupees, and from the sharpness of the transfer from the copper plate, I fully hoped that success would attend the very anxious endeavours which have now been made for about six weeks, commencing daily at 6 o'clock in the morning."

The results were bitterly disappointing: "The printing . . . has been tried both early in the morning and late at night . . . all the

<sup>4</sup> Sulphide of mercury.

current and legitimate business of the office in the mapping way of course giving place. . . . It is evident that lithography in this country, and during the hot season especially, cannot be relied upon, and . . . steps should be taken to procure proper stamps from England."

Attempts were then made to print in blue. Results from cobalt were as bad as those from vermillion, but refined indigo was more promising, whilst black was better still. "The impression in black is distinct and fine. The printing ink composed of simple lamp-black obtained from the best turpentine wick lamps . . . works so well with our maps that we should find no difficulty in proceeding at once with the stamps in this style. . . . The large sheets . . . do not print so well as the small ones. . . .

"I would venture to recommend that the Half-Anna stamps be proceeded with at once in simple black printing, and in single blocks . . . The blue color, if successful, can be reserved for the One-Anna stamp, and to ensure a due contrast if the difference between blue and black is insufficient for night work at the Post Offices, a different shape stamp can easily be adopted."

Further experiments with the Indigo blue were successful, and on 5 May Thuillier reported personally to the Governor-General himself, with a note reporting good progress with the Half-Anna stamps in blue, of which "during the course of yesterday alone, the first day of real progress, by keeping the presses at work double hours, 1447 sheets were struck off, giving nearly a lac and a half of stamps". Arrangements were made for officials of the Stamp Office to take over the stamps at the press about once a week.

On 1 May Thuillier acknowledged orders from Government to submit specimens of Half-Anna and One-Anna in red, blue and black for transmission to England, and "to prosecute the labors now in progress so as to secure such an adequate supply of Half-Anna and One-Anna stamps in blue or black as may admit of the new postal system being put into operation at an early date, in anticipation of a full and regular supply of postage stamps of all classes and values which have been ordered out from England." He further reported that "the printing of the Half-Anna stamps in blue has progressed very satisfactorily indeed. Up to the present date one million and a quarter of labels have been struck off, and by employing our establishment and presses from 6 a.m. until 8 p.m.—two hours intervening for refreshment—I am now able to obtain about 3 lac per diem.

"This number will be increased when additional presses can be procured, and for which due arrangements have been made for getting

them manufactured in Calcutta as speedily as possible. . . .

"I respectfully solicit permission to remunerate the printers and pressmen by payment for the number of extra hours they are actually employed daily, which is equal to a full day's ordinary work . . . Up to the present time the establishment has shewn the utmost activity and goodwill.

"No pains or exertions shall be wanting . . . that the new system may be put in operation at the earliest possible date."

Thuillier took upon himself responsibility for ensuring proper security as the two Stamp Office officials declined to keep to the long working hours involved: "I have been supplied with the water-marked paper in the original boxes as received from England, containing 15 reams. . . . If we return an equal quantity of paper stamped with postage labels every object is attained.

"It will not be practicable to lock up the lithographic stones in chests. They cannot easily be moved from the presses, and much valuable time would be lost thereby. The press room is guarded by a *Jemadar* and four *burkundauzes* day and night, while the room where the paper is kept is locked up on all sides.

"Every person employed on the premises is searched on going out, and . . . from my own constant attendance on the premises, I believe every possible protection is afforded for the safety of the stamps".

The last of the four new presses that had been ordered in March from the Surveyor General's Mathematical Instrument Workshop was delivered on 20 June and, writes Thuillier on 26th: "Additional machines having now been manufactured, I have included . . . additional printers and pressmen, which will enable me to prosecute the printing . . . vigorously, and at the same time attend in a small measure to the Mapping Department, which of late has necessarily fallen into arrears. . . .

"Up to the present date 13½ millions of Half-Anna labels have been struck off and delivered to the Stamp Office. I had hoped to have greatly exceeded this number, but owing to the Ramazan fast of the Mahomedans which commenced on the 27th of May, and has been strictly observed by the greatest proportion of my pressmen and printers, it has been found impossible for the men to work double hours. This restriction will . . . be removed in two days, when we shall proceed with renewed vigor and extended means."

Each sheet, or block, of these Half-Anna stamps comprised 96 stamps, or labels as they were technically called, and on 30 June Thuillier reported that he was "now striking off at the rate of nearly 12,000 blocks, or one million labels per diem, and have delivered upwards of 15 millions.

"I have been instructed that the Most Noble the Governor-General of India in Council has made a strong appeal to the Honorable Court to send out from England stamps of all values, until the receipt of which the Government may rely on my providing the necessary quantity."

The new presses had been constructed in this very short time by the skill and energy of the Mathematical Instrument maker, Saiyad Mir Mohsin Husain, and writes Thuillier, "The presses are so good and well-adapted to our work, not only for the postage stamps, but for the general mapping business, that I am induced to trouble you with a further requisition for four more of precisely the same size and pattern."

All stamps were scrutinized in the Stamp Office, and Thuillier asked the reasons for their rejection of 20,000 sheets from those delivered on 14 July. 5,000 of these sheets or blocks had been returned for examination, some of them "spoilt . . . owing to the imperfect cutting of the paper into separate blocks," and writes Thuillier on 31st: "The whole of these sheets have been carefully examined, and have gone through several hands in this office. All those which were selected as passable have again passed through my own hands, and although a great many may be said to be serviceable and saleable blocks, still I am anxious to allow none to be distributed that are not really good, and I have therefore condemned the whole with the exception of 58 sheets which appear to me perfectly fit for use . . . . .

"The remaining 15,000 . . . . . I am quite content to accept your opinion of them. . . . These rejections . . . . amount to scarcely two of our best days' work."

On 11 August he reported "that the 30 millions of the Half-Anna labels in blue were completed on the 29th, and the last batch delivered to the Stamp Department on the 31st ultimo, and up to the present date the total quantity of this label amounts to 31,743,360 . . . from the 8th of May last, the date on which the presses actually began to work, the two previous months of March and April having been occupied in designing standards and experimenting . . . . .

"On my reaching the 30 millions . . . my attention was then directed to the preparation of the One-Anna label and, a fair contrast with the Half-Anna label being essential, I determined on again persevering with the red color . . . . .

"By means of our improved materials and constant experiments in preparing the varnish and other necessary ingredients, . . . I am happy . . . to report that the sheets of the One-Anna labels are now printing as . . . steadily as could be wished, and although more time and care are required in the manipulation of this color, I trust an ample supply

will be speedily obtained . . . .

"From the 26th ultimo . . . 26,897 blocks, representing 2,582,112 . . . labels in red have been struck off and delivered to the Stamp Department. . . . . The number required, . . . not more than 5 millions, will be ready within the present month.

"Of the Half-Anna I am informed that when 35 millions have been completed, no more will be required.

"On the present date we have therefore the following quantity of each label:

Half-Anna blue, 31,743,360 labels, value Rs. 991,980

One-Anna red, 2,582,112 " " " 161,382

"A considerable number have been rejected on account of imperfections in printing, damaged paper, and bad cutting of the treble block sheets into single blocks. This was natural when we take into consideration the extreme haste with which the work has been executed (a considerable portion having been done by candle light), the very . . . inexperienced men we have been obliged to entertain and instruct, and the new machines. . . .

"A flaw in a single label invalidating the whole block, about 20,000 blocks have . . . been rejected. . . . More time can now be devoted, and consequently better printing secured. The cutting of the sheets I have also provided for in this office, as their appearance suffered by . . . tearing them in the Stamp Department. . . .

"The cost for permanent and contingent extra establishment during this period, together with the entire contingent expenses for working materials amounts to Rs. 4,266. . . . This . . . exclusive of the cost of stock. . . .

"Although slight additions have been made to our lithographic presses and stones, still this was equally necessary for the general purpose of this office, and will long continue to form a valuable addition to the Department for the publication of maps. . . .

"Commencing with but a small establishment, and only 3 presses of the smallest utility, the manufacture of the additional presses and recruiting of the establishment has caused unusual labour and difficulty. . . ."

Supply of vermillion red ran out, and the Stamp Department was reluctant to dip into their reserves, Thuillier reporting that "the printing of the One-Anna postage stamps has . . . met with a stoppage on account of the Superintendent of Stamps intimating his inability to supply any more . . . without the risk of his own department running short. I have . . . tried all the red powders procurable in the bazar . . .

without success. . . . I believe 10 millions of the One-Anna labels are required, and only six millions have been obtained up to the present. . . .

"The vermillion required for printing . . . in the Stamp Department is received direct from England, and appears to have had all the impurities extracted. . . . A supply . . . may be shortly expected to arrive. I trust . . . therefore no real danger can arrive to the Stamp Department by their sparing the small quantity . . . asked for." The necessary ten pounds were produced.

Work was now started on the Four-Anna stamps in red and blue: "A standard for the 4-Anna label has been engraved, and several experiments made in printing in two colors. . . . These labels have all been protected by the watermark, and only one dozen placed on each sheet, with the double object of facilitating the postal accounts, and rendering the printing easier. . . .

"The difficulties, however, of the double printing are so great that I fear it will not be practicable to produce the 4-Anna stamp in this style in sufficient quantities. The registering . . . of the paper on the stones demands the uninterrupted presence of a European Assistant of experience. . . . Many sheets will have to be rejected, but if Government deem it advisable to pursue this object no endeavours . . . will be wanting . . . to meet the demand."

Thuillier writes on 14 October: "The design of the label as approved . . . is of octagonal shape, the margin in red, and Queen's head in blue. Twelve labels on each sheet of water-marked paper, and each label protected by the watermark, price 3 rupees per sheet.

"I am now striking off these labels at the rate of about one to thousand sheets per diem."

Printing was completed and delivery of the last consignment made on 28 October 1854, bringing up the total to:

Half-Anna labels, 31,958,784, value Rs. 998,712

One-Anna      "      7,858,368,      "      491,148

Four-Annas    "      206,040,      "      51,510

"The standard copper plates," writes Thuillier on 2-11-54, "have been carefully placed under lock and key, under my own seal and that of the Supervisor of Stamps, and the blocks on the stones have all been cleaned off.

"I shall be prepared to strike off additional quantities of the labels whenever . . . Government . . . require me to do so. . . .

"Every sheet of blank water-marked paper has been duly returned or accounted for to the Stamp Department. . . .

"The current duties of the press in the Mapping Department which

have necessarily been thrown much into arrears will now be resumed."

During December another batch of the 4-Anna labels was struck off, bringing the total of that value to 50,000 sheets, or 600,000 labels or stamps. In the following March a further batch of 50,000 was started, but this time they were printed 24 to each block instead of only 12, thus economising in the water-marked paper, and in printing time. On 2 April 1855 there was "a supply of about 4 months expenditure of the Half-Anna labels, and about 2 months . . . of the One-Anna, in store at the present date. I shall therefore . . . renew the stock of both these values in good time to prevent any inconvenience pending the arrival of the English manufactured labels."

The first supply from England arrived during October 1855. Such Four-Anna stamps as had already been printed with the first colour were finished off with the second colour, and delivered to the Stamp Department on 3 November. Printing in the Surveyor General's office was then closed down.

The final total of stamps accepted by the Stamp Department amounted to 47,732,596, to the value of Rs. 21,80,668. Of these there were about 37 million Half-Anna, blue; 9¾ million One-Anna, red; 1 million Four-Anna, red and blue.

All the stones from which these had been printed were cleaned off, and the copper plates on which the standard designs had been engraved were stored at the Surveyor General's Office. There still remained the stones on which the preliminary experiments had been made. Amongst the designs so preserved are those for Two-Anna and Eight-Anna stamps that had not been adopted.

At various times, 1890, 1894 and 1915, coloured prints on any available paper have been taken from these surviving stones and plates, some being marked on reverse with the printed word "SPECIMEN" and others with descriptive notes such as "Facsimile Copy 1894".

In 1916 these 9 stones, 3 copper plates, and 1 steel plate were sent to England and presented by the Government of India to the Royal Philatelic Society.<sup>5</sup>

In 1935 I saw in Calcutta, in the possession of an enthusiastic stamp collector, several complete sheets of these 1854-5 stamps. They must have been printed before November 1855, and presumably obtained through the Post Office shortly after. Only those on the special water-marked paper would be genuine.

R. H. PHILLMORE

<sup>5</sup> vide Correspondence from S. G.'s letter No. 24 T of 7-1-1916 to Government of India, R. & A. Department to letter of 20-4-1916 from Philatelic Society to R. & A. Department.

## REVENUE RECORDS IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE COMPANY

ARCHIVES have been defined as "documents drawn up for the purpose of, or used during, the conduct of affairs of any kind of which they themselves formed a part and subsequently preserved by the persons responsible for the transactions in question or their successors in their own custody for their own reference."<sup>1</sup> Before documents can be read and utilised by historians they have to be collected together at one place for comprehensive treatment by an Archivist. Although in every country historians and antiquaries have always evinced great interest in old records, public opinion was slow in bringing about the establishment of institutions like the National Archives for the benefit of students. In England the writings of scholars such as Dugdale, Madoz and Rymer "slowly awakened a general consciousness that in the neglected records of their current courts of law and other public bodies lay a mass of information which might revolutionize historical conceptions based on chronicles, biographies and other narrative accounts," and eventually led to the appointment of the Lords Committee in 1703 "to consider the method of keeping records in offices and how they are kept and to consider the ways to remedy what shall be found to be amiss."<sup>2</sup>

In India the first serious attempt at a comprehensive treatment of the public records, in particular the revenue records, was made by a Resolution dated 17 March 1820 passed by the Governor-General in Council in the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal. The history and background of this Resolution are traced here.

Before the days of the Company *Qanungo* was the record officer of the pargana, which was an administrative unit. There were two Chief or *Sadar Qanungos*, and a chain of subordinate officers called *Naib* or Deputy *Qanungos* in the districts. The offices, like most offices in the East, became hereditary, and hereditary succession defeated the very object for which they were created. The system was vigorously denounced, as the professional knowledge and privileges of the *Qanungo* had been used to build up a guild which, by collusion with the very men whom the office was instituted to keep in check, viz. the Zamindars, and by purposely keeping Government in the dark, betrayed the confidence that was reposed in them.

The steps taken to remedy the situation were as follows: "After the conclusion of a perpetual settlement of the land revenue in the pro-

<sup>1</sup> *Guide to the Public Records*, Part I, p. 2.  
<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

vinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, the office of the Kanungo, sadar and mofussil, was considered unnecessary and consequently abolished. . . . In the words of Marquis Cornwallis, 'The public assessment on the lands is fixed throughout the country. The rights of the landholders and cultivators of the soil, whether founded upon ancient custom or regulations which have originated with the British Government, have been reduced to writing. The Kanungos are no longer necessary to explain rights of the former description, and they are wholly unacquainted with the latter. The Courts of Justice will have their codes of regulations to guide them in their decisions respecting the rights and properties of the people. Suits between individuals, or between Government and its subjects, regarding the revenue, will be decided by the engagements subsisting between the parties ; and, if a local custom is required to be ascertained, better evidence regarding it will always be obtainable from inhabitants of the district of respectable character, than could be procured from mofussil kanungos, whose official attestations and declarations have long since fallen into contempt and disregard in the eyes of the people, from having been invariably made the cloak to every species of fraud and abuse. These officers, therefore, are not only useless, but their continuance would be prejudicial to the country'.<sup>3</sup>

"The office of kanungo being accordingly abolished throughout the lower provinces, the records of mofussil naibs, gomastahs<sup>4</sup> and inohurrirs,<sup>5</sup> were ordered to be delivered over to the Collectors, who were authorised, if necessary, to proceed for the recovery of them in the mode prescribed by section 16, Regulation 3, 1794, and were required to furnish the Board of Revenue with a list of the records so delivered, as well as to be careful in preserving them. The Board of Revenue were likewise directed to require from the sadar kanungos and their naibs the whole of the records kept in their respective offices ; and, after causing a list to be taken, were desired to submit it to Government with their sentiments in what manner these records should be disposed of for the public service. This was done accordingly ; and the records are deposited, for occasional reference, under native officers who have immeditate charge of them, subject to the superintendence of the Board's Accountant."<sup>6</sup>

By the 21st Regulation of 1793 it was enacted that two officers should be appointed in each district for keeping all records in the local languages which in any respect related to the public revenues, as it was essential to the security of the public revenues as well as of the rights of individuals

<sup>3</sup> Minute of May 1793.

<sup>4</sup> Gomastahs—officers appointed by Zamindars to collect rents etc.

<sup>5</sup> Muharrir—a clerk, a writer, a scribe.

<sup>6</sup> Harrington's *Analysis*, Vol. II, pp. 145-46.

that all records relating to them should be carefully preserved, and that every subsequent alteration in any respect affecting the accounts of the settlement either by the transfer, division or union of estates or otherwise should be regularly entered on a public register to be superintended by officers of trust and responsibility. In the selection of the Record Keepers, in most instances, preference was given to the former *Qanungos*, who from the nature of their late employment were presumed to be more generally conversant with revenue matters than others, and who in some of the districts had actually been employed by the Collectors for some time, previous to their regular appointment as Record Keepers. But as some arrangement was necessary before the measure could be put into effect, it was not until 1797 that these officers were actually appointed. Their allowance was fixed at Rs. 30 per month. To defray the expenses of this establishment a fee on the transfer and division of landed estates was imposed.

The position was reviewed in 1817 by the Board of Revenue and it was noticed that too little attention had been paid to the preparation and preservation of proper records in the offices of the several Collectors under their authority, and the interests of Government, and still more of the subjects, were suffering seriously on this account. It was considered that without accurate registers of landed property, and some authentic record of the extent and limits of estates, of the tenures under which land was occupied, and of the rights, interests, and privileges of the various classes of the agricultural community, to which the judicial authorities might refer, as a means of checking the information or evidence produced in individual cases of litigation, civil justice could not be effectually administered to the people. In a letter addressed to the Board of Revenue, embodied in Revenue consultation dated 30 January 1818, the decision to reappoint *Qanungos* was taken: "In the opinion expressed by you, as to the importance of generally effecting the re-establishment of Canoongoes, and the reform of the office of Putwarry, the Vice-President in Council cordially concurs.

"It appears however on every account expedient to proceed gradually, and it is highly desirable that the arrangement should be conducted under the immediate superintendence of your Board, or of one of your members. Considerable inconvenience would at the same time be experienced from the lengthened absence of one of your members on that duty, by throwing on a single individual the general functions belonging to the Board.

"With these sentiments, the Vice-President in Council has resolved to confine the measure to those Districts in which it is most urgently

required, and over several of which you may with comparative facility exercise a local supervision.

"A regulation will accordingly be passed for the appointment of Canoongoes and the reform of the office of Putwarry in the Districts of the 24-Parganas, Nuddea, Jessore, Dacca, Jelalpore, and Backergunge.

"Your Board will of course consider and digest the detailed arrangements by which the provisions of the regulation can best be carried into effect.

"It appears advisable that previously to the final confirmation of Canoongoes in any of the Districts in question, a member of your Board should proceed to superintend on the spot the arrangements formed by the Collector, but this circumstance need not prevent the simultaneous adoption of the necessary preliminary steps in all those Districts, unless other objections shall occur to that course. In some of the Districts it may be expedient to depute an officer specially for the purpose of carrying the Regulation into effect under your Board's Orders, and the Vice-President in Council will be prepared to concur in any arrangement which may be suggested by you with the object.

"The Vice-President in Council does not understand that any class of persons precisely similar to the Pergunnah Canoongoes in Behar exist in the above Districts. In Bengal the Mofussil Canoongoes were understood to bear the character of Gomastahs to the Suddar Canoongoes, and from the long discontinuance of the office, there may possibly be no longer any remains of the Ancient Institution.

"If the above supposition be correct, the course to be pursued must naturally differ in some degree from that followed in Bihar and the re-establishment of Canoongoes on an efficient footing will probably be attended with greater difficulty."

Accordingly, by Regulation 1 of 1818 the rules regarding *Qanungos* already in force in Bihar and the more western provinces, as well as the provisions contained in Regulation 12 of 1817 for the reform of the office of the *Putwarry*, were extended to the Districts of 24 Parganas, Nadia, Jessore, Dacca, Jelalpore and Bakarganj.

The changes thus effected were an important step forward. But arrangements had yet to be made for adequate central direction and control of the activities of the *Qanungos* and *Putwarries*. The Court of Directors in their Revenue despatch dated 15 January 1819 instructed the Government of Bengal to consider the expediency of "establishing a General record office at the Presidency, in which should be formed and preserved a digest of all the information collected, and transactions recorded by the *Putwarries* and *Kanungos*", and its attention was

specifically directed to the office formerly established under the Chief *Serishtadar*. In furtherance of this object permanent committees were established both at the Presidency and in the Districts to direct and control the maintenance of these records. The Resolution of the Government of Bengal dated 17 March 1820 by which this was effected runs as follows:—

"The same considerations appear to suggest the expediency of employing Committees in the Superintendence of the several district Record Offices.

"In order to determine the nature and extent of the information to be required from the Mofussil Officers of Account, and the mode in which it is to be recorded and preserved at the Sudder Office of the districts, and at the Presidency, it seems highly desirable that Government should avail itself of the Services of its officers in the Judicial as well as in the Revenue branch, since the objects with which Government desires to possess accurate records of landed tenures and property are chiefly such as have reference to the easy and prompt distribution of Civil Justice, and the security of individual rights.

"For these purposes the Judicial Officers of Government ought best to be able to say what kind of records will be most useful; and by giving them a direct right of interference in securing the preparation and preservation of documents of which their daily use will demonstrate the utility, Government will gain much additional security for the regular execution of the work.

"Independently of these considerations, cases must arise in which Individual Collectors will fail to give the attention necessary for those purposes even supposing the most vigilant supervision on the part of the Boards, and the records of a Collectorship once destroyed or mutilated or the series of them interrupted the loss and inconvenience may be irreparable.

"With the above impressions, His Lordship in Council resolves that in order to secure the regular and systematic preparation and preservation of public records throughout the Country a permanent Committee shall be constituted in each district, consisting ordinarily of the Judge and Collector of the district, with the Zillah and City Register as Secretary, and that at the head stations of the Court of Circuit, the Senior Judge of that Court shall also be member of the Committee.

"In cases in which more than one Collectorship may be included in the jurisdiction of a Single Civil Court, as for instance in the district of Barely, both Collectors will be Members of the district Committee, tho' each will naturally give his attention chiefly to the record of matters

connected with his own Collectorship. In cases in which a Collectorship may include the jurisdiction of more than one Zillah Adawlut, the Collector will be a member of the Several Committees constituted within the sphere of his official Control.

"In both the above cases, some inconvenience will probably be experienced from the circumstance of the Members of the Committee having different ranges of authority, and from their being resident at different stations. This however is only one of the inconveniences that results from the manner in which the Zillah and Collectorships in question are constituted ; recent arrangements have in several instances corrected the evil, and His Lordship in Council would hope that for the present at least, the Committees of the districts which are still in the predicament alluded to, will not experience from that cause any material interruption in the execution of their duties.

"The expediency of adopting any special arrangement in such cases will remain for future consideration.

"The several Revenue Boards, and the Judges of Circuit generally, will be expected occasionally to inspect the records of the several districts visited by them, to report on their condition, and to suggest any means which may occur calculated to improve the system followed in regard to them.

"It will remain for future determination whether the Office in which these records are to be kept, and the Establishment employed in keeping them, shall be attached to the Cutcherry of the Collector, or shall form a separate office of registry and record under the immediate management of the Register, as the Ministerial Officer of the Committee.

"It will in either case probably be equally expedient that the Establishment should be distinct from that employed in the current duties of the Collector's office, tho' of course the proceedings both of the Judges and Collectors will in various instances involve matters proper to be brought on the record of the district, and of which therefore the record office ought to receive regular information.

"Of all Papers which may be of sufficient importance to deserve preservation in the district record offices, it will apparently be essential that accurate lists should be deposited in a General Record Office at the Presidency ; of many such documents, it will be highly useful that abstracts should be made in English, and transmitted to that Office ; and of the most important records it will be proper that authentic copies should be similarly deposited.

"For the Superintendence of this Head Record Office, as well as for the purpose of framing general forms for the Mofussil Records, of pre-

serving as far as practicable regularity and uniformity in the proceedings of the district Committees, and of causing such lists, Copies and Abstracts of the documents recorded in the several district record offices to be

1. Junior Members of the Board of Reve.
2. 4th Judges of the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut.
3. Secy. to Govt. in the Judl. Dept.
4. Secy. to Govt. in the Terrl. Dept.
5. Superintendent & Remembrancer of Legal Affairs.

transmitted to the Presidency as may appear necessary or useful, His Lordship in Council resolves to constitute a permanent committee at the Presidency consisting of the several officers noted in the margin.

"In the first instance, the Governor General in Council proposes that Mr. Prinsep shall, as Junior Member, perform the duties of Secretary to the Committee, receiving in the latter Capacity an allowance of Sicca Rupees 300 per mensem.

"Should the duties thus vested in Mr. Prinsep be found to interfere with those of his present office, it will remain to be considered whether any other officer can be found holding a Substantive Appointment and with Sufficient leisure and fit qualifications to execute the duties of Secretary to the Committee, and should it ultimately prove that these duties are too extensive to admit of the office being held conjointly with any other situation the Governor General in Council will be prepared to appoint a distinct Secretary to the Committee, with a suitable allowance.

"The more immediate purpose of the present arrangement is to secure the preparation and preservation of proper records and registers relating to landed property, tenures, and rates of rent ; and in the first instance, the labors of the Committees will be directed to the object of ascertaining what records connected with those matters are in existence, and of having proper accounts taken and lists made of them ; they will then proceed to consider and suggest the measures to be adopted for preserving the public records (including the construction of proper buildings where they may not already exist and the employment of adequate Establishments), for securing the punctual preparation of them hereafter, and for bringing up arrears.

"The Inquiries of the Presidency Committee on the above heads will embrace the records of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, and of the offices of Several Revenue Boards, and those of the Secretaries to Government and of the Revenue Accountant ; the Mofussil Committees will direct their enquiries to the records of the Courts and Collectors of the several stations.

"One early object for the consideration of the Committees will be to determine the nature and extent of the information to be required from the Canoongoes and Putwarries; and in considering this object, their attention will naturally be directed in an especial manner to the means of ascertaining the extent and limits of Estates, with a view to the decision of suits relating to disputed boundaries, of defining the rights of the inferior tenantry, and of adjusting differences between landlord and tenant.

"The expediency of using some further measures for compelling the registry of all transfers and assignments of landed property, whether by direct penalties for default, or by holding incomplete all transfers or assignments not duly registered, and denying the assistance of the Courts in maintaining claims founded on such transactions, until the defect of title be supplied, will also be a fit subject of early consideration.

"It will further deserve to be considered whether the operation of the proposed record offices, tho' principally intended for the deposit of documents relating to landed property, may not be so extended as to superside (sic) those of the Zellah and City Registers, and to this subject also the Presidency Committee will be instructed to direct their attention.

"It would now be premature to state any conclusive opinion in regard to the form in which the Registers and records that it may be determined to prepare shall be framed. The Committee will of course endeavour to preserve as much simplicity of scheme as may be consistent with the objects in view, carefully considering the existing rules relative to the Records directed to be prepared in the Offices of the Collectors and Canoongoes or by the Putwarries, and diligently enquiring into the Causes which have hitherto prevented those rules from being carried into full effect.

"By the union of the Revenue and Judicial affairs, his Lordship in Council confidently trusts that every thing will be suggested that is necessary for the purposes of both Departments, and as the proposition of the several district Committees will be fully considered by the Committee at the Presidency, the whole scheme will, it may be hoped, be digested and reduced into form, on the most comprehensive and judicious principles.

"His Lordship in Council conceives that it ought ultimately to be made a part of the duties belonging to the Presidency Committee gradually to collect and to digest in the shape of memoirs and reports all information of a general description relative to the nature of landed tenures, the structure of the village institutions and the agricultural economy of various parts of the Country.

"That Committee may likewise probably be very advantageously employed in selecting for publication such documents as it may appear advisable to distribute generally to the Courts and Collectors with the view of placing them in possession of the principles of the system which they are called on to administer, and of the object of the laws which it is their duty to enforce.

"Previously to the adoption of the above arrangements, we had deemed it proper, in consideration of the stated want of Order and Regularity in the preparation and preservation of the records of the several Collectors' Offices, to authorize the Boards to appoint a Registrar to each Collectorship, on a salary of 150 or 200 Rupees per mensem, according as persons possessing the requisite qualifications should offer themselves as candidates.

"The Registrars have, we understand, been hitherto very usefully employed in arranging the records of the several Collectorships to which they belong, but we conceive it will hereafter be expedient to transfer those Officers to the Record Committees. The same principle it may perhaps be expedient to adopt in regard to the Canoongoes and Putwarries at least in the lower provinces, where the Revenue Officers have comparatively little influence and power, and where, consequently, the direct interference of Judicial Officers, belonging to the Committee, is likely to be required to give effect to our view."

The Presidency Committee was authorized to employ such a number of writers as was deemed necessary for copying the papers which they proposed to prepare, and likewise to assign an allowance of Rs. 50 per mensem to such persons as they might employ in the several offices in aiding them to form a digest and index of the Records contained in each.

The above orders were communicated to the Resident at Delhi, the Commissioner on the Nerbudda, the Agent to the Governor-General at Saugor, and the Governments of Fort St. George and Bombay, in order that a system of registry, similar to that suggested by the Committee, but with such modifications as local circumstances suggested, might be adopted in those quarters.

In the Board of Revenue Circular dated 21 April 1820, the following rules for the guidance of the Registrars were issued:

"The records shall be kept in a room or rooms exclusively appropriated to the purpose (if possible), the door of which shall be furnished with two locks, the key of one of which shall be in the possession of the Registrar, and that of the other deposited with one of the Record Keepers.

"It will be the duty of the Registrar to arrange the records, with the assistance of the regular record keepers, forming a regular list of them, and classing them first into Pergunnas, then subdividing them into Estates and years, and to see that the Record Keepers conform, as far as may be practicable, to the rules prescribed in Regulation XXI of 1793.

"He will on no account receive into the record office any documents not authenticated by the official signature of the Collector or his assistant : and he will never permit any copies to be issued without a written order from the Collector to that effect.

"All papers deposited in the record office are to be attested by the signature of the Registrar and one of the Record Keepers ; and no copies ordered to be granted are to be presented to the Collector for signature until they have been previously attested by those Officers, whether the copies be for the use of individuals or Canoongoes, Ameens etc.

"The Registrar will keep a daily Register of papers deposited, specifying of what nature they may be, and by whom deposited, also a memorandum of copies issued: these Registers are to be signed daily by the Registrar before closing the office, and submitted for the counter signature of the Collector on the first day of every month.

"All copies for the use of Courts of Justice shall be attested by the Registrar and one of the native record keepers previously to being presented to the Collector for his authentication.

"The Registrar will carefully superintend the record keepers in preparing reports in reply to Precepts from the Courts, Róobukarries<sup>1</sup> from Collectors and orders from the Board, and in furnishing information to the Collector, and to keep a diary of those proceedings.

"To ascertain by examination and comparison with the records that all engagement Pattahs, Perwannahs, Amuldustucks, Security Bonds, in short all documents of those descriptions, have been drawn out correctly, both in form and detail.

"To be careful that statements of lands proposed for sale and accounts are accurately prepared ; and to report to the Collector if he shall have reason to believe that any of the preliminary processes to be observed previously to proceeding to sales, as provided in the Regulations, have been omitted.

"It shall be his further duty to bring to the notice of the Collector any neglect on the part of the English Writers in preparing Indexes of

<sup>1</sup> *Rubakari*, Persian. The written record of a case, stating the particulars and the grounds of the decision drawn up and authenticated by the judge in a Company's Court, on passing sentence.

the correspondence, and in copying the drafts of letters despatched into a Book to be kept for that purpose ; and to report if any of the Officers detain papers in their own possession or fail to deliver into the record office every Nuttee or file of Proceedings, after the matter to which they relate shall have been disposed of."

G. N. CHANDRA

## HOW TO FIGHT WHITE ANTS

RECENTLY a large number of inquiries have been received in the National Archives of India seeking information as to how to fight the white ant menace. These inquiries have emanated from heads of archival repositories, libraries and other institutions, who have found the usual remedies, known to them, prove ineffective. Before suggesting certain remedies which have been tried with profit elsewhere and are applicable to conditions in India, it is desirable to know some basic facts regarding life, habits and *modus operandi* of these insects, as such a knowledge is very necessary for an intelligent application of the remedies.

'White ants', the popular English name for termites, is essentially a misnomer. 'White ants' are neither white nor do they belong to the order hymenoptera to which true ants belong. The colour of termites may vary from pale yellow to dark brown. In fact some species in Ceylon are black. Further, the termites belong to the group of insects known as isoptera and their nearest relatives amongst common insects would be cockroaches. Termites can easily be distinguished from ants by the absence of the waist-like portion of the body between the thorax and the abdomen, which is so characteristic of the latter. Perhaps the only point of similarity between ants and termites is that both are social, polymorphic insects. Like ants, termites live in society: each society consists of two parents and their offspring and the two generations live in mutual co-operation in a common abode or shelter. And, again like ants, they show a tendency to division of labour among the members of the colony. The social system of termites is highly developed and its study is of considerable interest. It has been said that termites exemplify man's totalitarian concept of government to which dictatorships tend but which they can, perhaps, never reach. They are amongst the largest insect pests and are found all over the world except in the Arctic and the Antarctic. They antedate human beings by millions of years. Out of over a thousand and a half species, identified by entomologists, India can claim nearly a hundred. Here they are differently known as *ooi*, *ooli*, *dimek*, *saink*, *walawi*, *valati* or *karayan*.

In a termite colony there are, first, the strongly pigmented and mature male and female winged insects, the primary kings and queens. They emerge in swarms usually after the rains, when the weather is hot and humid, and proceed on their sojourns to found new colonies. The wings are cast off during the flight, and the few pairs that survive their natural enemies, such as lizards, birds etc., dig into the ground or wood and start new colonies. The first crop of eggs produces mainly the

workers, and the tending of these first nymphs (insects in pre-adult stage) is done by the royal pair, after which they only take the responsibility of multiplying the colony. Due to practically machine-like laying of eggs, good food and sedentary life, the queen may in the course of time become 2"-4" long, 1" high and 1" broad, about 20,000 times the size of an average worker. Each termite colony is normally the offspring of one queen, which may live up to 10 years. The rate of laying eggs has been observed to be between 30,000 to 80,000 a day. Besides the primary kings and queens, *viz.*, the macropterous forms which take part in colonizing flights, there are the secondary or substitution kings and queens, namely, the brachypterous and the apterous forms. It is significant that in many species, if some mishap occurs to the parent queen, or a part of the colony is separated from the rest, the secondary or substitution queen takes upon itself the function of reproduction and thus perpetuates the colony. In some cases more than one secondary queen may begin to function and growth of the colony may be much more rapid than before.

Apart from the primary and secondary kings and queens, there are in a termite colony the soldiers and workers. The soldiers, male and female, are wingless and sterile, and have vestigial eyes, pigmented heads and a variety of mandibules. Their function is only the defence of the colony in the event of danger from outside enemies. Building of nests, keeping them clean and in good repair, procurement of food, and tending of eggs and nymphs are the duties of the workers. They are the wingless unpigmented 'white ants' with small or no eyes. Their heads may be slightly pigmented. Here again, unlike true ants among which workers are all females, the workers in a termite society belong to either sex. In some species there are no workers, and nymphs of all classes carry on the duties of the workers.

According to their habitat termites can be divided roughly into two main groups: (a) Wood-dwellers, and (b) ground-dwellers. The former group includes dry wood, damp wood and powder post termites. The colonizing pair in this case enters the wood-work of buildings or trees and the entire colony is confined to wood. Contact with earth is not maintained. Colonies of ground dwelling varieties are, on the other hand, always started by royal pairs burrowing into the earth. Even when the nest is away from the ground as in the case of carton nests on branches of trees, contact with earth is secured by means of covered runways.

Ground dwelling species may be divided into three sub-groups.

(1) *Subterranean termites*: They build their nests under the ground and reach their food indirectly by burrowing through the earth

and building covered runways. In India damage to buildings, and consequently to books and manuscripts is mainly due to this type.

(2) *Mound building termites*: These are very well known on account of the 'ant hills' built by them which occasionally grow to fantastic sizes; some of them are 20 feet high and 12 feet in basal diameter. These are built of earth particles cemented together by means of saliva and are almost as hard as cement structures. The humidity inside the mounds is remarkably controlled and maintained at a high level even in arid zones. Indeed they are the air-conditioned sky-scrappers of the termite world.

(3) *Carton nest building termites*: They construct a cellular nest of carton, a compound of earth, wood and faecal matter. A nest of this kind is egg-shaped or round, about the size of a football, encloses a comb like mass of passages and chambers. These may be located in the ground or in wood or in branches of trees.

The more primitive species of termites live in irregular or diffuse nests which have no definite pattern. The wood dwellers, for instance, merely hollow out a series of galleries in logs, decaying wood or trees. The diffuse nests of subterranean termites consist at best of a few hollow chambers with a labyrinth of tunnels and are difficult to trace by digging. Colonies in these diffuse nests are more or less subject to migration when conditions become unfavourable. Concentrated nests are built by the higher species. They stand out from their surroundings by the material used in their construction and also by their design. Mounds and carton nests are examples of this type. A typical subterranean concentrated nest consists of a domed royal chamber more or less in the centre of the nest and a foot or so below the ground connected by a network of galleries with numerous chambers containing fungus gardens. Fungus gardens are used as nurseries and communal rooms. Commonly there is one particularly large fungus chamber adjoining the royal chamber, and also a pair of main ventilating passages running more or less vertically through the nest.

The tiny soft bodied termites are voracious eaters of cellulose, a carbohydrate rich in energy and abundant in wood and plants. Cellulose is very difficult to digest but it is believed that the presence of protozoa in the intestines of the termites helps its assimilation. Those species which are devoid of protozoa obtain their food from humus, fungus and organic soil matter in addition to wood.

Termites have the habit of grooming or licking the bodies of one another and have developed a system of mutual feeding with saliva and body secretions. The fatty substances exuded by the queen are parti-

cularly relished by the workers. In fact trophallaxis is a notable feature in the economy of these insects. Even the eggs fail to hatch unless licked and tended. Cast skins, dead bodies and sickly individuals are devoured. Ejected fæces are eaten again and again till they are devoid of all nutrition.

Like all other insects termites, except for some foraging species that work in the sun, like to feel solid matter around them and work in the dark. They move up any cracks or chinks which are wide enough or can be made wide enough to allow them passage. The galleries of subterranean termites follow the grain of wood, which they secretly, silently and ceaselessly eat away, and often cause serious damage before their presence is detected. A thin outer shell is always left and termites seldom so entirely consume the wood fibres that all structural strength is gone. The maintenance of a high percentage of humidity is most important for their existence. Metal, stone, brick, concrete, and other substances which termites cannot penetrate are bypassed and bridged over by granular earth like shelter tubes. Indian varieties of termites are capable of bridging horizontal gaps of nearly three inches and vertical gaps of much greater extent. They do not, however, like downward slopes, exposed points or edges, bright light, or very dry situations, and have an aversion to metals such as zinc or copper.

The articles most liable to attack by termites are those that contain cellulose. Since wood contains a large percentage of cellulose any article made of wood is specially liable to damage by termites, e.g. boats, bridges, conduits, mine props, telegraph, telephone and electric poles, tents, fences, railway ties etc. Most of the materials used in archives and libraries, such as paper, wood pulp products, paste boards, rolls of cloth, fabrics and leather are also highly susceptible. It may be noted that termites are selective feeders and much of the material damaged may not be actually eaten but bored through, or corroded with moisture and body secretions or spoilt by layers of carton like earth.

With these facts about the life of termites before us the question of the detection of termites and the measures to be taken to exterminate them may now be considered.

Only subterranean termites need be considered here since this is the type mainly responsible for damages to buildings in India. The existence of termite infestation can be discovered by a periodical examination of the walls, wooden frames, etc., particularly where there are cracks, hollowed wood and covered runways. Where such direct evidence is absent the existence of infestation may be betrayed by swarming flights. Detection will be greatly facilitated and chances of damage reduced if,

at the time of storing, space for examining shelter tubes and cracks on the walls, roof and the floor is provided. How often due to lack of adequate storage facilities valuable records and books are dumped on the ground, or at the most placed on wooden planks or in wooden boxes in direct contact with floor! Of course, to start with, these are regarded as emergency measures ; but we all know that they tend to become semi-permanent, if not permanent, and records remain unattended for years. Pressure on storage space often leads to the placing of more and more files, bundles or books on the top shelves till the ceiling is reached. And it is also a well-known practice to push back the almirahs till they touch the wall to provide for additional space. Such unhygienic storage provides favourable conditions for attack by termites and also makes it difficult to detect them. It is a good principle to ensure that materials, vulnerable to attack by termites, are at least six inches away from the ground, wall and roof. This promotes cleanliness, helps better air circulation and provides for quick detection of shelter tubes.

Where books and documents are stored in almirahs of untreated wood immediate protection can be provided by keeping their legs in vessels containing coaltar creosote in kerosene in the proportion 1:2. This mixture is inflammable, and adequate precautions against flame, electric sparks, etc., should be taken. A strong solution of phenyle in water may also be used. Enamelled trays or stone bowls, six inches or more in diameter, will form good containers. Where almirahs have no legs it should not be difficult to provide suitable supports, preferably of iron. Alternatively, one of the following varnishes could be applied to the surface of almirahs, shelves, etc., on which the documents are kept. (1) Varnish prepared from orthochlorophenol, naphthol and petroleum in the proportion 1:1:40. This is to be freely applied with a brush or a piece of cloth. After the first coating dries up a second application of varnish is desirable before books, etc., are placed. (2) 20% solution of zinc chloride in water. (3) Three successive coatings of hot creosote. Creosote is cheap and very effective but its use on furniture has some disadvantages. It imparts black colour and is rather sticky. Creosote should not be heated directly over a flame but the vessel containing it may be kept in a bigger one containing water.

The above varnishes should be applied all round, and squeezed into cracks and joints as far as possible, since it is in such inaccessible places that wood remains untreated and consequently still liable to termite attack. Such treatment should be repeated periodically.

We have till now considered the measures that should be adopted

to prevent termites from attacking almirahs, shelves, etc., containing records. We shall now consider what measures should be taken to annihilate termite colonies.

Normally subterranean termites gain entrance to buildings from colonies removed from the premises, and since the workers can extend subterranean galleries over comparatively long distances, it is often impossible to trace the insects to outside sources. The runways, used by the termites in a building, should be traced back as far as possible. Cracks in walls should be opened up. All disintegrated mortar, debris, wood, etc., should be removed. Since cavities thus formed lead to the nest through inaccessible tunnels, fine poisonous dust should be blown into the cavities and the connecting tunnels by means of a dust gun or simply poured in by a spoon. The treated cavities should then be filled in with cement. The poisonous dust that is blown in would adhere to the bodies of the termites as they move to and fro, and because of their habit of grooming or licking, the entire colony is soon poisoned. To secure best results, the poison used should be finely powdered, kept dry and well-dispersed. White arsenic, Paris green, sodium fluosilicate or 5% DDT in Fuller's earth are recommended for the purpose. While arsenic is quick in action and would annihilate a termite colony in 1-2 months, it is a stomach poison to human beings and should be used with the greatest care. Sodium fluosilicate is slow acting but less dangerous to handle. The area around the building should be carefully examined and cleared of decaying wood, debris, dead roots, etc. Where concentrated nests are located they can be destroyed by poisons. A number of holes some 18" deep may be bored over the area covered by the nests and then a few ounces of petrol, carbondisulphide, coaltar creosote in kerosene, orthodichlorobenzene or diphenylamine may be poured through them. After the liquid fumigants have been poured the holes should be sealed with wet earth to conserve the vapour for as long a period as possible. Diffuse nests of subterranean termites may be dealt with when the exit holes are located at the time of swarming flights.

The possibility of stopping termite damage by means of soil poisons has been successfully explored in the U.S.A. Quite a few chemicals have been used for the purpose with success. Only two of these may be mentioned here since they can be easily procured in India and there is little danger involved in their handling.

(i) Coaltar creosote may be used alone; but when diluted with light fuel oil in the proportion 1:2 it penetrates into the soil better. Its odour indoors remains unpleasant for not more than three weeks. The mixture, however, is irritant to the skin and eyes and should be handled

with care. (2) 5% solution of DDT in kerosene or diesel oil is also an effective soil poison. Roughly  $1\frac{1}{2}$  table spoonfulls of DDT per pint of kerosene, or 21.8 parts of DDT to 414 of kerosene by weight are required to make a 5% solution. Oil solutions of DDT should not be allowed to come in contact with the skin as they might cause serious injuries unless immediately washed off. As regards the mode of applying these soil poisons, trenches eight to twelve inches wide and one foot deep should be dug all along the foundation walls and also around chimneys, pipes etc. Such a trench is sufficient where foundations have shallow footings or where there are no cracks. Where cracks have developed, and in case of basements deeper trenches are suggested. Cracks should be carefully sealed with coaltar pitch. For every ten feet of trench 2 gallons of one of the above chemicals should be poured in with the help of a hose or any other safe device. Six inches of soil should then be replaced and another two gallons of solution should again be poured in and covered up with earth. This treatment is enough in the case of shallow trenches. In the case of deeper trenches the process should be repeated till the entire depth is filled in. Where the foundation footings are deep, the purpose of a deep trench may also be served by a shallow trench and a number of bar holes.

Till now we have considered measures to eradicate termites and chemically protect buildings susceptible to their attack. But their results are not enduring. Dust poisons may annihilate the infesting colony but do not bar the arrival of fresh lots of workers or the starting of a new colony. Application of soil poisons is effective for a few years and can at best be regarded as a temporary relief. Permanent relief can be obtained only by constructing termite proof buildings. It is important to note that buildings could be made termite proof for ever with only a small additional cost. Archives and libraries should be designed and constructed to ensure this. It may be stressed that it is not so much the construction materials but the way they are used that determines the susceptibility of a building to termite attack. It is not necessary to go into the structural details of a termite proof building : it is enough to mention a few guiding principles. The floors should be of concrete and so designed as not to develop cracks. They should be properly and firmly joined to the walls. A moisture proof impenetrable barrier should be incorporated all along the internal and external walls at about 1 foot above the floor level. In U.S.A. the use of metallic termite shield is gaining favour. Engineers in India rely on 3"-4" thick continuous layer of concrete which acts as a satisfactory barrier. Points of entry of pipes, chimneys etc., into the earth, have to be properly protected. In no case

should there be wood in contact with the ground. For instance, door sills, flooring joists, planks, steps, etc. should be separated from the rougher concrete foundations by at least 1" thick layer of dense concrete without cracks or joints.

In short the underlying idea is that the design of the building should make it impossible for termites to work their way to the wood by isolating the superstructure from the ground by an impenetrable barrier. To incorporate the necessary modifications in already constructed buildings may be very expensive and in many cases out of question. However, it is pertinent to observe that where such physical isolation is effected in a building infested with termites, the subterranean insects in the wood-work of the building, no matter how numerous they are, soon dry up and die because of their inability to obtain moisture from the earth. It is not possible to lay down any hard and fast rules, but an appreciation of the principles already given will suggest what main steps are necessary in particular cases. For instance, attack through walls with poor grades of mortar may be stopped by coating them with Portland cement on either side. Wooden blocks or supports which are so commonly found plugged into the walls should be taken out and replaced with those of metal or treated wood. Timber in contact with the ground may be first removed and then isolated by a suitable layer of cement underneath. Sometimes, as in case of pillars etc., it is possible to shorten the timber and provide a pier of concrete to isolate the earth from the timber. Ends of beams entering concrete or masonry should not be sealed but provided with cement coves so as to allow 1" air space on all sides. Settlement or contraction joints in a concrete floor often show cracks and allow passage to termites. They may be first widened to a V depression and then filled with cement or coaltar pitch.

R. C. GUPTA

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“HAQUIQAT-I-HAL-I-DEH SUBAH DELHI”  
OR  
FACTS ABOUT VILLAGES IN DELHI PROVINCE

**D**URING explorations for historical material in the East Punjab, six large bundles of papers bearing the general title given above were salvaged from the District Headquarters at Karnal. They have been repaired, arranged and rebound into volumes, varying in size from 10" x 12" to 16" x 22", and in all they cover over 7,000 pages. They are in *nastalik* and *shikasta* Persian, and they bear the signatures of the British officers of the day, thus testifying to the authenticity of the records.

The papers deal with about 400 villages of the province of Delhi and extend over the period from 1828 to the end of the century. The bulk of the information contained in them was collected for purposes of revenue settlement when British authority was first established in the region ; but they contain also a lot of invaluable information regarding the history and antiquity of these villages, and their social and economic life. The thoroughness with which the data regarding the political, social and economic conditions of the villages has been gathered reminds us of the well-known Domesday Survey of Norman England. The papers are of value particularly for the study of the socio-economic conditions of the region prior to the establishment of British rule therein and also for the study of the first steps at settlement that were taken. A brief outline of the contents of each of these six volumes is given below to indicate their nature and importance.

*Volume I (R/3)*

The volume contains papers relating to surveys conducted in Panipat, Karnal and Kanur *Parganas* during the years 1829-32. It is a mine of information on all matters relating to land and land revenue administration and throws a flood of light on the economic condition of the areas. Information in respect of the different villages surveyed is available *inter alia* on the following points: condition of lands: jungle, barren, fallow, irrigated or non-irrigated, types of soil, and crops grown in them ; quantity and value of seeds sown per *bigha*, average produce from the best, worst and average lands, land measures in vogue, number of *bighas* cultivated with a single plough and estimated annual expenses of such cultivation ; land values ; systems of land tenure: *minhai* or *mu'aafi*,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rent free lands.

*khairat* (*khyrat*),<sup>2</sup> and *batai* or *kankut*<sup>3</sup> lands, *jagiri* or service lands, and *malguzari* or lands paying revenue; assessments: abstracts of demands, receipts and balances for the previous five years according to *patwari*<sup>4</sup> accounts, *siwai*<sup>5</sup> collections, Zamindari *rasmis* (*rasooms*),<sup>6</sup> deductions from *malguzars* towards allowances payable to *patwaris*, police officers and others, cesses in respect of schools, etc.; cattle: livestock figures in respect of each village, including those of *paikasht* cultivators<sup>7</sup>; population: census of houses and of persons according to sex, community, and economic status, zamindars, hereditary cultivators, agricultural labourers, new settlers, *paikasht* cultivators, traders, petty labourers etc.

### Volume II (R/5)

The volume contains papers relating to a number of villages in Sonepat, Kanur and Panipat *Parganas* for the years 1829-32. The information contained in it is, in general, similar in nature to that of Volume I (R/3) described above.

### Volume III (R/1)

The volume covers the period from 1836-1903. It contains valuable information about places of historical interest, genealogical tables of notable families, administrative changes, and other miscellaneous matters of local importance. The following list of items will give an idea of the nature of the material found in it.

(1) Public representations and memorials against the continued use of Persian in official correspondence, a language little understood by the masses, and Government notification dated 29 July 1836, replacing Persian by Urdu as the official language of the region.

(2) Copy of a will of Sir James Skinner, Colonel commanding a corps of Irregular Horse, produced before the local court, in which he made provision for the payment of a life pension to three of his Indian companions who had served him with fidelity and devotion.

(3) Account of a visit to Karnal by J. Thomason, Lt. Governor of North-Western Provinces, on 11 January 1845. He observed that the region was mostly deserted and that the lands remained uncultivated. The people exhibited little inclination towards agriculture. There was

<sup>2</sup> Lands given as charitable endowments.

<sup>3</sup> The system of collecting state share in kind, dividing the produce on the threshing floor.

<sup>4</sup> Village accountant.

<sup>5</sup> Additional cess or impost.

<sup>6</sup> Customary payments.

<sup>7</sup> Non-resident cultivators.

poverty all-round and theft was rampant. He suggested certain measures for the development of agriculture.

(4) Lists of rebels, both civil and military, who joined the bantner of Emperor Bahadur Shah during the Mutiny and circulars issued for their apprehension.

(5) Order of Capt. William Micknel, Collector, Thanesar District, notifying the assumption of the government of India by the Crown, and issuing an adequate supply of cartridges to every *Kotwali* and *Tahsil* to meet any emergency, which indicates that conditions were still abnormal.

(6) A list of villages in Karnal District drawn up in 1849 giving details of revenue assessment and land tenures and the names of zamindars, *patwaris*, etc.

(7) Lists of *Rais* and landlords of Karnal, Panipat, Barthal, Kahar, Kaithal, Delhi, Kunjpura, Dahouza, Samkada and Biana with particulars of their relations with Government, honours and titles conferred on them, etc.

(8) Genealogical lists and historical accounts of the ancient rulers of the region compiled under orders of Government in 1849. The volume also contains the "vamshavali" of Chandravamshi Rajputs who ruled over Karnal and Haryana territories known as Panchala Desh<sup>9</sup>: a copy of a *sanad* of Madhav Rao Sindia granting a *Jagir* in Karnal *Pargana*; and a genealogical table and family history of Nawab Najabat Khan.<sup>10</sup>

(9) A copy of the will of Nawab Muhammad Isahaq Khan<sup>11</sup> and connected papers throwing light on Government's relations with local princes in such matters as adoption, etc.

(10) A descriptive list of prominent buildings and historical monuments in the region, which would be of great interest to students of history and archaeology.

#### *Volume IV (R/2)*

The volume roughly covers the period 1843-80. The papers mainly relate to the history and antiquities of the various villages and towns, with

<sup>9</sup> Genealogy.

<sup>10</sup> The genealogical table in the volume bears this heading. But it may be noted that according to Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* (1924) and Nundo Lal Dey's *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India* (1927), Panchala Desh did not include this region: South Panchala extended from the southern bank of the Ganges to the river Charmanvati or Chambal, and North Panchala extended from the Ganges to the Himalaya.

<sup>11</sup> A Rohilla Pathan, who, as a Captain of the Mughal Imperial forces, founded the state of Kunjpura, near Karnal. He was killed while defending the stronghold on behalf of Abdalies against a sudden attack by the Maratha General Sada Sheo in 1760.

<sup>12</sup> A member of the family of the titular nawabs of Karnal, also known as *Mandals*, founded by Lord Lake in 1804. He was one of the original assignees of the *Jagir* on *Istamqari* or perpetual tenure.

particular reference to buildings of historical significance in the region. Information is available particularly in respect of the *tahsils* of Gohla, Badhwa, Kolokal, Kamokhala, Pahawa, Kaithal, Habari, Poundari and Ram Teheli, and the towns of Karnal, Panipat, Sonepat and Kaljingar. The thoroughness with which the investigation was carried out is seen from one of the questionnaires which sought information about all places over 200 years old: the *parganas* of which they were deemed parts, the founders of the towns and their genealogical history, temples and tanks, with the names of persons who built them, and the names of priests or other persons in charge at the time, references to books wherein the towns are mentioned, etc. Particular mention may be made of the collection of local legends regarding the five Pandavas from Panipat, Sonepat and Thanesar, and of a sketch plan for the restoration and preservation of an old mosque known as Mastgarh at Shahabad.

### *Volume V (R/4)*

The volume contains useful information on a number of miscellaneous subjects, an idea of which may be had from the following:

- (1) A list of the names of keepers of the Dargha of Qabinder Sahib of Panipat.
- (2) A list of inns and rest houses in Karnal District, with details regarding location, owner, etc.
- (3) A register of files relating to *Nazool*<sup>11</sup> in Thanesar District.
- (4) Lists of *mu'aafi* lands in Panipat District and in the *tahsils* of Gharaunda and Karnal, with details regarding owners, etc.
- (5) Historical accounts of Sonepat and Panipat Districts upto the years 1846 and 1847 respectively, giving lists of villages, area, population, cesses collected, etc.
- (6) A list of villages of Babkar *Pargana*, giving details of the products of each village and the share of Government.
- (7) A map indicating the boundaries of the villages in Sonepat *Tahsil*.
- (8) Descriptive accounts of the villages Charsemer, Nabari, Deeppur and Basodahar.
- (9) A list of *Mansabdars* of Panipat District.

### *Volume VI (R/6)*

The volume contains descriptive notes of 234 villages situated in the region adjoining Delhi. They are drawn in the form of separate accounts

<sup>11</sup> Usually meaning land or buildings within or adjoining the sites of towns or villages, the property which the government inherited from former rulers or obtained by escheat.

of individual villages, furnishing details about the period they came into existence, the people who originally settled there, the persons who wielded political control over them at different periods, the system of land tenure and assessment in force, etc. The account given of one of these villages named Darar is reproduced below to indicate the nature of the collection.

"The village is in existence since long and came to be settled by Rajputs of Chohan branch. When the Sikhs came into power the village was occupied by Gajpat Singh of Jind. After him Sardar Sahib Singh of Ladwa assumed its control sheerly by dint of sword. He wrested it from Mohammad Rashid, who was employed by Sardar Gajpat Singh to guard the fort. When the territory of Ladwa was taken over by the British the village was brought under their authority. There is a big canal on the east-west side of the village. Every type of land and all varieties of crops are to be found in the village. There are wells for drinking and irrigation purposes. Previously the revenue was collected by the method of *batai*.<sup>13</sup> After its occupation by the British the expenses of repairing roads, etc. are borne by the landlords of the village. In 1849 Mr. Dinard, in charge of revenue administration, proposed to alter the existing system of revenue collection and instead introduced the method of periodical assessment since 1853-54. This new system was given effect to by the Deputy Commissioner afterwards."

V. S. SURI

<sup>13</sup> The system of collecting state share in kind.

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE RUSSELL  
CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO HYDERABAD  
1783-1852 \*

*Selections from the correspondence of Henry Russell, Resident in Hyderabad, with his father, Sir Henry Russell, Chief Justice of Bengal*

(1) *Sir Henry Russell to his son Henry Russell, 13 November 1808*

HAS heard of his son's marriage to Jane Amelia Casamaior.

"Dear Harry,

I have been so much distressed at your uncommunicated Contract of Marriage, that I have not known what to do, to say, or to think upon the Subject. I therefore determined to do nothing, to say nothing, and would to God I could have thought nothing, but at length I find I can be silent no longer.

I have born sickness and sorrow, I hope, with becoming fortitude and resignation, but your neglect of me, in one of the most important concerns of your Life, I have scarcely known how to endure, and I fear I have not born it well. Your Marriage in itself has vexed and disappointed me very much, but the manner of it has mortified me much more. We have for some years lived together like Brothers: all parental authority has been merged in friendship and Confidence. Why then did you withdraw from me all Confidence, and refuse to trust me on an occasion so important both to your happiness and mine : knowing, as you must know, that there is no person in the World so interested in your Welfare as I am, and that your Happiness is one of the chief foundations of your Father's, why did you expose me to the degrading mortification of hearing from every mouth but your own, that you was going to be married ; and, though urged by me on the Subject, why was you silent till you could tell me that e'er my answer could arrive it would be of no avail, and that the Marriage would be solemnized before I could either give or withhold my Consent. This surely is treatment which a Father, less kind than I have been, ought not to have met with. I think that on Reflection you can never justify or excuse it to yourself, and I fear that to my last hour I shall never recollect it without pain. As to the disappointment of my ambition, that disturbs me very little ; for affection has humbled me, and almost cured me of ambition: besides at no time of my Life was I so devoted to it, as to sacrifice to it the happiness

\* The first instalment of this article appeared in *The Indian Archives*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, January-June 1954, pp. 59-66.

of myself or of my Child. Neither, wounded as my feelings are, will I suffer them to produce others still more agonizing, by discarding you. I have lost a darling Daughter, and cannot afford to throw away a beloved Son: the Tears with which I write this convince me that I cannot. All resistance is now in vain. I must submit. I cannot, I will not, destroy your happiness; nay I would not disturb it for a moment. Therefore, my Son, I forgive you; and assure yourself, my dear Harry, that the same Love which compels me to forgive you at all, compels me also to forgive you from my Heart. I will from this moment indulge no displeasure against you. I pray to God to bless you both: may You live long and happily together. Of your Wife I hear every thing that is favorable, and I believe she is *almost* all I could wish. If she make you a good wife, and promotes your domestic happiness, I must love her, for you know by experience that whoever is kind to any one of my Children finds an easy access to my heart . . . . Give my Love to your Wife and accept, my Children, the Blessing of

Your affectionate Father"

*(2) Henry Russell to his father, Poona, 2 March 1811*

Has handed over the Poona Residency to Mountstuart Elphinstone. Here follow several letters written *en route* to Hyderabad, to the Residency of which, Henry Russell has been appointed.

*(3) Henry Russell to his father, Seroor, 40 miles E.N.E. from Poona,  
4 March 1811*

Left Poona 2 March 1811.

" . . . As to the Country I have passed through, nothing can be more melancholy than the Appearance of it. Deserted Villages, unfrequented Roads, and the Traces of former cultivation, make the Scene more painful than it otherwise would be by shewing what it has once been, and aggravating the Look of the present Misery by the Contrast of former Blessings . . . "

*(4) Henry Russell to his father, Camp at Khair on the Godavery, 87 miles  
S.E. from Jaulna and 183 N.W. from Hyderabad, 3 April 1811*

" . . . The whole of the Nizam's Country I have yet passed through is falling rapidly to decay. The soil though very rich is uncultivated and overrun with Jungle and not more than one village out of three has any Inhabitants in it. I never saw a country for which nature has done so much, and Man so little. The Paishwah's Country even now is better than the Nizam's and it is improving . . . "

(5) The two letters which follow from Sir Henry Russell to his wife Anne Russell are inserted because they describe his journey from Calcutta and his reception at Hyderabad.

*Hyderabad, 11 February 1813*

"My Dearest Anne,

You will be delighted to receive a Letter from me dated from this place. How much more delighted should I be, could I find language to describe those feelings, which have been called forth, by the Reception I have met with here ; or rather I should begin with my Conduct hither, all the way, from Masulipatam to Hyderabad. But I must make you accompany me all the way during my Voyage and Journey, so if you please we will start from the Court House at Calcutta. On getting in to my palanquin, I was surprised to find my own guard there drawn out, without any orders from me, to salute me as I passed. When I stept on board the Boat at Champaul Ghaut, to go on board the Yacht which was to convey me to Masulipatam, I was saluted by seventeen Guns from Fort William, and should have been saluted in the same way, by the Yacht, when I got on board, but there were there some very large magnificent pier Glasses for the Resident at Hyderabad which might have been broken by the discharge of the Guns. I therefore desired to dispense with that Compliment . . . My Companions were Engineer Russell and Holroyd, who were returning to Hyderabad ; the former had come from there to see Calcutta ; the latter, to see his sister, who is married to Captain Court, Marine Surveyor General, who lives in Calcutta. Robert Saunders and Aylmer accompanied me ; Bob pour s'amuser, and Aylmer in quest of an appointment at the Residency, which I hope Harry will be able to give him. There were besides Major Dickens, who is lately arrived from England . . . Captain Everard on a visit to his Brother Lt. Coll. Everard who commands the 34th and Mr. Sotheby . . . So you see our party made eight, namely Sir H. R., Engineer Russell, Holroyd, Bob Saunders, Aylmer, Major Dickens, Capt. Everard and Sotheby. The Captain of the Yacht, an officer of the Bombay Marine, made nine, and a merrier set were never got together. There was not a frown seen the whole voyage, and the Captain declared when he got to Masulipatam, that if he always had such passengers, he should never wish to go on shore. We weighed anchor at Calcutta at one o'clock in the day of the 5th of January, and anchored in Masulipatam Bay at seven o'clock in the evening of Friday the 15th. This was a long passage, but after we left the River which we did in the morning

of the 7th we met with Calms and contrary Winds. Soon after we anchored in the Roads of Masulipatam, a Boat came off to us from the Master Attendant to know what ship we were, and at two o'clock in the Morning another came with a Letter to say that he, and Charles, who was waiting for me at Masulipatam would come off to us at day light. They accordingly came, and after an absence of ten years I had the Transport of pressing that Dear Boy to my Heart. He is not at all altered in Face. He is grown very tall, and when dressed looks extremely like a Gentleman, but what is best of all, he is one of the most amiable Creatures in the World. His delight is to make others happy, and his manners are uncommonly mild. About eight o'clock the Tide serving for us to go over the Bar, we went on then in the Commanding Officer's Boat. Sir George Barlow (within whose Government Masulipatam is) having given orders that I should be received with every mark of Respect, all the officers of the place, civil and military, met me on my landing. The Troops were drawn out, and the Fort fired seventeen Guns. I walked through the Fort, and then was driven by Holroyd, in a Curridge, which Harry had sent down for me, to the House of the Collector, about two miles from the Fort, to breakfast. The Collector's name is Russell. He is a brother of our old Friend Claud, who you know is a son of Sir Hugh Inglis's Friend Russell. I stayed at his house, Saturday and Sunday, to give time for the Baggage to be got on shore, and our people to be prepared for the March, which from thence to Hyderabad was the March of a prince; Harry had so prepared every thing both for Comfort and State. But I must apply to Charles for ye Detail, for he was Commander in Chief and his statement is as follows.

One Company of Grenadiers with three officers...as my Body Guard: the officers always breakfasted and dined with us: a Jemadar and thirty of ye Resident's escort as Sentries, a Havildar and twelve Troopers to attend my Carriage. Mr. Currie the Dr. of Ye Residency.

The followers were:—

Bearers	...	80	Fishermen	...	5	Khansamah	...	1
Coolies	...	70	Elephant men	...	63	Khidmatgars	...	10
Swordmen	...	25	Camel men	...	12	Cooks	...	2
Hircarrahs	...	34	Bullock men	...	12	Chobdars	...	6
Furrashes	...	30	Water Carriers	...	14	Tindals	...	2
Maitres	...	3	Smiths	...	3	Kulashees	...	12
Musalchees	...	28	Carpenters	...	2	Bullisman	...	1
Chubamen	...	4	Cobblers	...	2	Foulman	...	1
Falconers	...	10	Taylors	...	2	Farrier	...	1

'To these must be added the servants of our party. I brought only five—Jemadar, Jaumdie, Khidmutgar Cook, Taylor, Washerman.

\* In all I suppose the followers amounted to 500. We had besides 30 Elephants, 18 Camels, and 100 Bullocks. With this party we left Masulipatam at day light on Monday the 18th of January and marched only eight miles; one always makes the first march short, least any thing should be left behind. Our other marches were 10, 12, or 14 miles a day...we always got to our Ground to Breakfast. In the front of the Centre of the Camp was the large Tent in which we all breakfasted and dined, with the Union Flag hoisted in the front of it, and two Sentries at the Door. Immediately behind that was my tent, which was very large, with an excellent Bed in it.....

At 150 miles distant from Hyderabad we met the first supply of Grapes and Vegetables from the Resident, and which was repeated every day, and in such abundance as to be sufficient not only for us but for all our Servants. Was not this princely? In what part of the world but this could such a thing be done... On the 26th we entered the Nizam's Dominions, and were met by two Native Officers with about 150 Horse each, and two or three Elephants. They drew up as they approached our Camp, and saluted, and after breakfast they came to our Tent, and presented to me their Nuzzears; and I put on (the) Turban of each of them a Jewel. . . . (Meets his son after a separation of six years).

Harry was accompanied by 3000 Cavalry and 500 Infantry, who had been sent, on the part of the Nizam, to receive me on his Frontier, and accompany me to the Capital...Harry stayed with me two days, and then returned to Hyderabad to prepare for my reception...(Describes the splendour of the reception of the Chief Justice by his son the Resident).

At the appointed place we met the Resident, accompanied by his Staff, the Commanding Officer of the Subsidiary Force, many other officers of a Regt. of the Company's Cavalry. The Cavalry drew up in Line, the Resident with his Suit advanced towards me about one hundred yards on their Right. He was very elegantly dressed. He had on a General's Hat with Ostrich Feathers, a plain blue coat with rich gold Epaulets, and a Sash ornamented with gold, a very handsome sword, and he was mounted on the handsomest Bay Arabian Charger I ever saw in my Life, most elegantly caparisoned, with scarlet richly embroidered with Gilt. When he came near me, he took off his Hat very gracefully indeed, as if he was meeting a Great Man whom he had never seen before in his life. I returned his Salute as well as my Nerves would let... (Much detail of this description omitted).

I forgot to tell you that among the Troops, that received me at the Residency, was the first Battalion of a new raised Corps called the *Russells*, in Compliment to the Resident. It is to consist of two Battalions of 800 men each. Holroyd is Adjutant of the first Battalion, and I believe Aylmer will be Adjutant of the second. The Colours for the first Battalion we brought with us from Calcutta, and Harry is to present them to the Corps in a few days, with a very neat speech I dare say, the occasion admits of it. One Flag is the Nizam's Green, with the Arabic words 'Ullah o Ukkbar' in the Centre, surrounded by Stars. The meaning of these words is 'God is Great'.... The other Flag is our Union, with the words 'Russell No. 1' in the Centre surrounded by a wreath of Laurel. The Colour of the 2nd Battalion will be the same, only 'Russell No. 2'..... To complete the History of the Resident's State I must mention his Carriages and Stud. He has a Barouche, a Chariot, two Curricles and a Buggy. He always drives four horses. His Stud consists of about forty Horses all of them very fine Arabs, and his own Riding Horses, particularly his Chargers, the finest I ever saw in my life, and he rides most elegantly, so does Charles... The Resident's grand Charger, on which he met me is called Emperor..."

(6) *Henry Russell to his wife, 16 March 1813*

Describes how he was received by the Nizam's minister. "...on my intimating a wish to retire, a Tray of splendid Jewels, and others of gold Cloths and Shawls, were produced. The Minister put into my Hat three very rich ornaments, round my neck two Collars, one of Diamonds, the other of pearls, round my arms a pair of armlets, and round my wrists two pairs of Bracelets. He also gave presents to Aylmer, Saunders, and the two Captains of my Guard. We then walked off loaded with all this finery: but remember you are to have none of it, for I keep an account of all the presents I give, and of all that I receive, and the Balance, which will be in my favor will be carried to the account of the Company..."

(7) *Henry Russell to his father, 1813*

"My dearest Father,

I will write below what I said on delivering the Colours. I have been lounging on the Couch, and have only this instant got up.

'It can seldom happen to any Man, to present a Corps with its Colours on an occasion personally so interesting to himself as this is to me. The Office is gratifying to me in every Way, and I could not have

been called upon to perform it under happier Auspices. As a publick Man, I consider the Establishment of a Corps, constituted and commanded as this is, to be an Object of Importance to our National Interests ; and as a private man, I must always feel an affectionate solicitude in the Prosperity of the Russells ; a Name to which I owe, not only the Enjoyment of Blessings myself, but the Power of imparting them to others. I beg you will assure your Men, that I shall constantly watch over their Interests with the utmost Care, and that I commit my Name to them, not only with Confidence, but with Pride. I am sure that you will do it Honour, and I hope that it will bring you Success."

(8) *Henry Russell to his father, 23 January 1814*

"...I saw with Pride and Delight all the Marks of Respect which were paid to you on your leaving Calcutta. The Addresses were both good, I thought, especially that from the Natives, which was very well done indeed. We all admired it here extremely, and are curious to know by whom it was written. I have asked the question of George Saunders, but I think, myself, that though it may have been originally sketched by a Native, it must have been finished by a European Pen. Your answers were both admirable, as I knew they would be, for you always do these Things better than anybody else. I liked the answer to the Natives best. It was a Subject which admitted both of more Novelty and more Feeling. In answering an Address from a Body of European Gentlemen, it is difficult to say anything which has not been said before..."

"The Terms in which the Government spoke of your publick Services in their Dispatch to the Directors were very handsome and proper, and must put some additional Weight in the Scale. Nothing can be more unanimous and stronger than the Tributes you have received, and I shall look anxiously to hear what Impression they make at Home. You will be quite right I think to hold Yourself very high ; and to let Ministers clearly see, that if they have your assistance at all, it must be as a Peer. There is nothing but a Title that they can give you ; and in Parliament I think you would be a powerful speaker on their side. In Calcutta, if your Value was felt while you were there, it will be still more felt now that you have gone away. George Saunders tells me he hears that you are missed in Court already ; and by what I see of Sir Edward East in the Papers, he seems to want both Strength and Confidence. He is tedious and undecided, and no man can expect others to trust him when he shows that he does not trust himself. In his long

Charge to the Grand Jury, at the first Sessions after he went upon the Bench, I was surprised to see that no mention whatever was made of his Predecessor. In so long a Piece I should have thought that at least a few Lines might have been given to a Subject which stood so obviously before him, and that while he was thanking his Majesty so much for extending the Benefit of our Laws to India, he might have said something of the Hand by which the Laws had been so long and so well administered..."

(The Pindari menace is increasing) " . . . But my own Opinion is (and the Experience of every day confirms it) that much more vigorous and comprehensive Measures than any which appear to be contemplated at Calcutta, ought to be adopted against this formidable and growing Evil . . . "

(9) *Henry Russell to his father, 26 August 1814*

In this important letter will be found evidence of the Resident's connection with the first Palmer Company in Hyderabad. ". . . A Number of Disputes and Changes have taken place among us at Hyderabad since you left India. Palmer's and the Engineer's Concern is dissolved. Charles and I have withdrawn our Money. The Engineer is going home immediately, and Palmer has established a new and separate concern of his own. For some time I had had Reason to be dissatisfied with the Manner in which the Influence which the Concern derived from the Countenance I gave it was applied, especially by the head Native Servant in their Employ. A Complaint was made to me last January, that a Person who had offered a large rough Diamond for Sale, had been confined by him in order to force him to take a less Sum for the Stone, although the Price he originally asked was so remarkably small as to leave little Doubt of its being stolen Property, and almost at the same Time I discovered that he had practised such scandalous Extortion in a Case between the Minister and a Banker of Benares, which I had in my official Capacity referred to the House for Arbitration, that I could not possibly overlook it. I communicated the Circumstances in the first Instance to Palmer, being persuaded that he would view them in the same light I did. I found however that the Man was countenanced and supported by him, and that the Acts became his by Adoption ; and therefore I told him that I could no longer leave in the Hands either of the House or its Agents the Exercise of an Influence which was universally considered to proceed from me ; that I would myself exercise my Influence on their behalf in such Cases as I thought proper ;

and that I insisted on the office of the Concern being removed to some Place beyond the Limits of the Residency. This was immediately done, and Matters at first went on smoothly ; but Palmer, who is a man of a crooked though an acute Mind, and who could not believe that I would sacrifice so advantageous a Method of employing my Money for no Stronger Reason than a principle of Duty, began to suspect that I had some underhand Object, and that my real Design was to ruin him. This Suspicion groundless and even absurd as it was, continued to gain strength in his Mind ; a personal Coolness soon took place between us, and we have very seldom met since : though I have heard he avowed he was convinced I was hostile to him, and that he frequently expressed warm Resentment, and behaved in many Instances with great Violence. My Intention, when I originally complained to Palmer of the Conduct of his Servants was not to interfere at all with the Foundation of any of the essential Parts of the Establishment, and to leave it entirely to itself in its general concerns. Neither Charles nor I meant at first to withdraw our Money but as the Engineer withdrew his, mine was necessarily withdrawn with it ; and Charles then resolved to withdraw his too. Palmer still retains I believe some of Currie's Money, and he has been joined by John Palmer of Calcutta. His new Concern is not so lucrative as the old one ; but such as it is it is carried on quietly at his own House, and there is an End I hope of all Dispute and Altercation. The Engineer has behaved like a Scoundrel, and has betrayed in every Respect a Character totally different from that which had ever appeared in him before. On his last Return from Calcutta, there was a Violence in his Temper and Language, and a Coarseness in his general Manner, which was extremely disgusting. He gave me Offence on several Occasions and it was with great Indignation I thought I saw, that the Change in his Conduct, especially towards me, proceeded, partly from a Notion which had gone abroad that I had lost my chief Strength when you and Lord Minto went home, and that it was probable I should be removed by Lord Moira to make Way for some Friend of his own. No personal Difference however had taken place between us when the Disputes about the Concern began, and he appeared in all essential Points to behave on that Occasion as he ought. He assigned to me as his Reason for withdrawing, partly that he thought the Concern insecure in its new Situation, and partly that he disapproved of the Violence of Palmer's Conduct too much to hold any further Connexion with him. At first I believe he was sincere ; but he was gradually drawn over to Palmer's Feelings and Opinions, and his Vanity taking Alarm at the Notion that his Consequence was lessened, and that he did not possess that Influence

with me to which he thought himself entitled, he gave a Loose to his Resentment, and behaved as those Men generally do who have no steady Principles to regulate their Mind when their Passions are disturbed. To me he behaved outwardly as he had been accustomed to do, and I had no Suspicion of the real Conduct he was pursuing, until I was warned by my Friends not to trust him, and was given to understand that he was in the Habit of speaking disrespectfully of me in publick Parties, and had frequently betrayed the Confidence which I and those connected with me had placed in him. You will be disgusted to hear that he has openly talked before Strangers of various little circumstances relating to your Views and mine, and to our domestic concerns, as well as of other Matters of much more Delicacy and Importance. I do not intend to come to any open Rupture with him, for we shall probably be only a few Days together, and contempt very much predominates over every other Feeling that I have towards him. He must have seen however by my Manner, and must be conscious from his own Sensations, what I think of him, and he must suspect that I have let you into the Truth of his Character and Conduct ; but I shall not tell him what I have written to you, in order that you may be entirely free not to receive him at all, or to receive him in any Way you may think fit, on his Arrival in England. If you should resolve not to receive him at all, he will know perfectly well what your Reasons are, and it will be quite sufficient, I imagine, for you to intimate to him that you had heard from me what his Conduct had been for some Months before he left Hyderabad. I believe him to be as mean a Scoundrel as any on the Face of the Earth, and will never again repose Trust in any Man, whom I find to be like him, totally devoid of all Religious and Political Principles. He is an Instance of a Man who is bad more from weakness than Design, more because he has no Principles at all than because he has positively bad ones. He means to go Home in the very first Ship in which he can procure a Passage, and has written to Madras, I believe, to endeavour to get one in the *Asia*, which is expected to sail almost immediately.

"Even if these Disputes had not happened, I should probably have found myself obliged to withdraw my Money from the Concern ; for I discovered that it was very much talked of, and that a Notion prevailed, especially at Madras, that I was in reality the Head Partner, and that it was altogether supported and maintained by me. My withdrawing will certainly affect the Period of my Stay in India ; but it will most likely shorten rather than lengthen it. To make so large a Fortune as that on which I formerly calculated, I should now be obliged to remain here many more years than it would be worth my while to sacrifice to

any Purpose of mere Fortune ; and if I limit my Views to a Moderate one, say 60,000 Pounds, I shall probably be able to retire a Year or two sooner than I originally intended. The whole of my Money will be repaid to me out of the Concern in the Course of two or three Months, and then I shall be able to tell accurately how much I am now worth, which at present I cannot do. I think that I must have altogether near 40,000 Pounds. I shall however send you an exact Account as soon as I possibly can, with a statement of the Rate at which it is likely, with Interest and Savings, to increase from year to year ; and I shall then be guided exclusively by Your Advice, as to the Time of returning to England. Much will depend on what you find the Expense of living to be, on the Change that the Peace may make in the Value of Money, and on what Your Opinion may ultimately be as to a joint Purchase of Land between you and Charles and me. To be invested in Land, 60,000 Pounds seems to be a very small Sum ; but the 3000 a Year, or near that, which it would produce if laid out in the Funds, would surely be enough for me. I am not expensive in my own Person, and have not the least Desire to live in any Respect beyond the ordinary Style of a private Gentleman who keeps his Carriage. As long as I continue Single 3000 a Year will surely be ample enough for that : and there is not much likelihood of my being married, unless it be to a Woman who will bring an Increase to my Fortune. The Season of marrying for Love is past with me : and I should now think something of a Fortune one at least among the necessary Qualifications of a Wife. On all Points relating to the Subject of this Letter I have communicated most freely and confidentially with Charles, so that to whichever of us Your Letters are addressed, you may write with equal Unreserve about them all. The withdrawing of our Money from the Concern has of course affected his Fortune just as it has done mine. He talks now of going home whenever I do, and I think his succeeding to the Residency is the only thing that would induce him to remain longer in India. Whether we are likely to accomplish that Object, is very doubtful ; if we do, it will probably be more by the Execution of your Influence at Home, than by anything that can be done by us in this Country. It would be a vast Point to carry if possible. Even although Charles were to remain only two or three Years in the Situation, it would give an honourable Close to his Career, besides making a substantial addition to his Fortune.

"I have not discovered any Reason to suppose that the Engineer, among the other Subjects to which he has given such a Licence to his Tongue, has said anything of the Presents which were exchanged while you were here. But as that is a Point which might be perverted by

the Malice and Ingenuity of your Enemies or Mine, I have thought it best to place it at once beyond the Reach of Misrepresentation; and therefore as soon as all the Articles were disposed of, and Charles and I were able to make out the Amount, we included the Value of two Strings of Pearls, as well as of all the other Articles, except the two Rings, and I carried the Balance, which amounted I think to about 17,000 Hyderabad Rupees, to the Credit of the Company in my public accounts, as 'the Sum by which the Value of the Presents received by you exceeded that of those given by you,' according to the Intimation contained in my Dispatch to Lord Minto, of which I sent you a Copy at the Time. No Entry was necessary beyond this Item, but a particular Account, of which I will send you a Copy, has been made out, and recorded in the proper Book at the Residency. For the Value of the Rings I omitted to give Credit, because they never compose a part of mere formal Presents, but are reserved for occasions of peculiar Compliment, and given only as Tokens of personal Regard and Respect. You could not have rejected them without giving just Offence to the Minions, and I could not have sold them with the other Articles without obvious Indelicacy. I have in the first Instance paid the amount of the Balance into the Treasury, and shall repay myself out of the Money which the Engineer has of yours, to the Amount I believe of about 23,000 Rupees. The rest of that Money I shall add to that which you already have under my Care. . . ."

(10) *Charles Russell to his father, Hyderabad, 5 September 1814*

Inserted here because it relates to his connection with the Palmer Company.

" . . . These Disputes, by withdrawing Henry's and my Fortune from such a lucrative Mode of Employment, have of course very much circumscribed our Views. To make any Thing near the Sum that we looked to, when you were here, we must stay a much longer Period in India than we then proposed. This we are neither of us, I think, much disposed to do, and, limiting our Views at all, it is probable that they will now become so much more moderate that the Time of our staying here will rather be shortened than protracted. Henry talks generally of about £60,000—I shall be satisfied with what I may have when he goes Home, whatever it may be. At present I cannot make a Prospective Estimate of my Fortune with any tolerable accuracy. As soon as I extricate all my Property from Palmer's hands, which will probably be by the End of the Year, I shall know exactly what I am worth, which I do not know

now. I look to its then being about 35 or 36,000 £. I shall be able to make an accurate Calculation of my yearly Accumulations, which I will send to you, and you will be able to judge, what it will be most prudent for us to do. Indeed both Henry and I shall be very much guided by Your Opinions and Wishes. If he determines to go Home, when he has £60,000 and if that should be about the Beginning of 1818, I think I should be tempted, if I could succeed to the Residency, to remain till the Beginning of 1820, partly to improve my Fortune, but more for the sake of closing my Life in India with some Credit, at the Head of the Line, which I have always pursued. But I have no Expectations that could be effected here. I think my Claims to the Residency at Hyderabad are very strong. But then Claims, however strong, are always overlooked, unless backed by a very powerful Interest; and I have to surmount the Obstacle of being a military Man into the Bargain. I must, therefore, rely upon you if anything is to be ever done on this Point. You knew exactly what sort of English Recommendations are of any avail. The strongest Letters, that private Friends give, are neglected. Nothing probably would make me Resident at Hyderabad, an office for which there will be such a strong Competition, short of a specific Appointment to it by the Court of Directors, or a particular Request that I should succeed to this particular Office by one of the principal Ministers."

(ii) *Henry Russell to his father Gollupollum, 25 miles north from Masulipatam, 22 September 1814*

" . . . I received a voluminous Dispatch from Adam a few days ago, containing the Governor General's Instructions for the Investigation of the Disputes between the Nizam's and the Paishwah's Governments, and appointing me to conduct them. These Disputes relate to what are called the Paishwah's "Choute Claims", that is, his Demands, both in Arrear and Continuance, of a Portion, fluctuating in its Amount, of the Revenues of the Nizam's Territories, which was exacted by the Marhattahs, in the early Days of their Power, as a Consideration for their abstaining from indiscriminate Plunder. These Claims have, for a long Course of Years, been a Subject of Dispute, and sometimes of War, between the two Governments; and by the Treaties which we concluded with the Nizam in 1800 and the Paishwah in 1802, we undertook the Office of Arbitration. The question ought to have been decided long ago: but each successive Governour seems to have been alarmed at its Intricacy and Extent, and to have availed himself of any Pretext he could to transfer it to his successour. Elphinstone's first Assistant,

Captain Close, is to be sent to Hyderabad, with some Agents on the part of the Paishwah, and I am to superintend and direct the Discussions between them and the Nizam's Ministers, and to make a Report on the Substance and Result of them to the Supreme Government. . . ”

(12) *Henry Russell to his father, Hyderabad, 7 December 1814*

On his return from Masulipatam to Hyderabad he was attacked by a gang of robbers.

“. . . Twenty-two of the Gang have since been taken, and ordered to be executed ; five at Hyderabad, and the rest at the different Places on the Road, which are most infested by Thieves. . . ”

Is dissatisfied with Currie. . . “Currie, although he has too much Scotch Discretion to take an active or an open Part in anything, has continued his Connexion with Palmer throughout, and is still a Partner in his Concern.”

Refers to inefficient officers in the Nepalese war.

“. . . The Days of the Clives, and Lawrences, and Cootes and Goddards have gone by.”

(13) *Henry Russell to his father, 21 April 1815*

“. . . Sir William Rumbold, whom you must have seen in Calcutta, is just now my Guest at the Residency. He came here to consult me about lodging his Money in the new House which William Palmer has established, and at my Recommendation he has determined to join it as a sleeping Partner. He will continue in Calcutta, and Palmer will conduct all the Concerns of the House here. I send you a Copy of a Letter of Recommendation which he brought me from Lord Moira. I like him very much. He is mild, gentlemanlike, and sensible, and improves upon you the more you see of him. He brought Lady Rumbold and his Children to Masulipatam but she was so unwell there, and the weather was so hot that he was obliged to leave her, and come on without her. He is staying with George Russell at Gollupollam, where I was last year. . . ”

*Encloses letter from Lord Moira to Henry Russell, camp at Kurnaul,  
5 January 1815*

“Sir,

Let me beg leave to introduce to you Sir William Rumbold, in whose welfare I take a lively interest. It is a liberty I would not use, were

I not certain that you would find him a most acceptable acquaintance. To good sense and essential worth he adds those polished manners, and those habits of good Society, which must always render him agreeable. His object in visiting Hyderabad is to inform himself minutely respecting the state of the House of Palmer & Co., in which he is invited to become a Partner. It will be an obligation to me, if you will give him any insight, which it may be in your power to communicate, with regard to a Matter that may influence his fortune so importantly: and you may depend on his observing the strictest secrecy on any Points which you may confidentially communicate.

I have the honour, Sir, to be etc., etc.  
(Signed) Moira."

*Encloses reply from Resident to Lord Moira, Hyderabad, 8 April 1815*

"My Lord,

Sir William Rumbold arrived at Hyderabad yesterday and I have had the honour to receive from him your Lordship's Letter of the 5 January. I beg your Lordship to be assured of my shewing him every attention, and affording him every sort of advice and assistance in my power, although I am too much indebted to your Lordship for giving me so agreeable an acquaintance, and have too much real pleasure in executing your Lordship's Commands to be entitled to claim any Merit on that Account.

I have already had a good deal of confidential conversation with Sir William Rumbold on the object of his Visit to Hyderabad, and have not only given him my opinion very fully, but have also put him in possession of all the Information I could to enable him to form an Opinion of his own regarding the nature of Messrs. Palmer & Co.'s Establishment. I believe he has resolved to accept the Invitation which has been given him to become a Partner in the House, and I have indeed encouraged him to do so, having no doubt of his finding their Transactions equally advantageous and secure.

Your Lordship has probably heard that Lady Rumbold was obliged by the Delicate State of her Health, and the severe heat of the weather to relinquish her intention of accompanying Sir William on his Journey to Hyderabad, and prudently resolved to remain at Masulipatam until his return.

I have etc. etc.  
(Signed) H. Russell."

(14) *Henry Russell to his father, Hyderabad, 26 July 1815*

"... We have a hunting Party tomorrow Morni : 3. The Spot on which my Tents are pitched is a very beautiful one ; the Country is now as green and fresh as a Gentleman's Park in England : and the Weather quite as cool as I ever wish it to be. We have Plenty of Game of all Kinds, from royal Tygers down to Hares. . .

"Our Government seems to be opening its Eyes, and to be finding out, at last, that a System of mere Defence will not answer. If we do not attack the Pindarries, they will certainly attack us. But the Directors I suppose will be frightened at the Expense and will bring forward a Volume of musty Arguments, the real English of which will be, that they had rather lose India upon cheap Terms, than consent to pay money for keeping it. . ."

(15) *Henry Russell to his father, 30 July 1815*

"... Palmer's Concern is prosperous, and he professes to be grateful to me for the Support I have given him. We never at any Time had much personal Intercourse but we are upon very good Terms, and I am one of the Constituents of the House . . . I now think however that I shall not remit the whole of your Money to you as I originally intended. Of the two Lacs with Bunmallee Dass. I have already received and remitted to you 1,04,970 leaving a Balance of 95,030 still in his Hands. I think that I shall leave that Balance with him. and even complete it, out of the Interest which will be due at the End of the Year, to the round Sum of a Lac. The rest of the Interest, as well as the amount of your Pension which I will henceforward draw from George Saunders. I propose to lodge with Palmer's House. in the same Way in which they receive Money from all their Constituents, until it amounts to a Lac of Rupees, or even more if you should wish it. They allow 12 per Cent Interest, and I consider the Credit of the House to be unexceptionable. Sir W. Rumbold has become a Partner, by my Advice, and with the concurrence of Lord Moira ; and the Establishment has been publicly sanctioned by Government, in consequence of an Application which I made for that Purpose. The Money being lodged with them, as from a Constituent, can be recalled at any Time ; and if there be any Favour, it is conferred and not received by us. The Partners expressed themselves indebted to me for becoming a Constituent, and lodging money with them . . . "

(16) *Charles Russell to his sister, Hyderabad, 30 July 1815*

Inserted here because it relates to the new Palmer Company.

All our Differences with Palmer have subsided. There is little Intercourse between Us. and indeed there never was much. But he expresses himself perfectly satisfied with his present Establishment, and the Support it receives. and on one or two Occasions he has shewn an Eagerness to comply with all Henry's Wishes. Henry and Palmer never held any personal Communication on Business. He and I throughout the whole of the Altercation, continued to preserve Appearances, and all Matters therefore, go on more smoothly through me. But he calls on Henry occasionally and they meet in Society and are always very civil and courteous to each other. The only Evil, therefore that has resulted, or is likely to result, is the Diminution of our expected Fortunes. I am modest in my Desires, and I have no Rank to maintain, so that is a Matter of comparative unimportance to me. But it affects Henry more . . . Your Fortune too has unfortunately been affected by the same Causes as ours. While Henry's Health was precarious and while Matters here were in a troubled State he became anxious to send what he could of yours off and he did send a great Proportion. But we were talking the Matter over the other Evening, and he seems to be now disposed to keep a Lac cf Rupees of yours in Bunnwalie Dass's Hands ; and to place the Interes , arising from this Sum, in Palmer's House, till it amount to another Lac. Fortunately Henry's Health is so much improved that there is little Probability of its forcing him Hence ; so that he will now stay till you tell him that his Fortune is large enough. I shall do the same, though I shall relinquish the Scheme of joining you in 19 or 20 with great Reluctance. Your opinion of the Engineer's Conduct is exactly the same as mine. It proceeded more from Weakness than Vice. There is no Harm to be feared from him . . . ”

(17) *Henry Russell to his father, Hyderabad, 25 May 1816*

“ . . . The Court of Directors, in their universal spirit of Retrenchmen have fallen foul of the Residencies at last. Our personal Salaries are left as they were, but the Allowance for our Expenses is reduced from 5193 to 3000 Sicca Rupees a Month. The Salary of the Post Master is entirely done away, by which Charles loses 450 Rupees a Month, the Duty being directed to be done gratuitously by one of the Assistants ; and with the Exception of Hyderabad, which is allowed two, the Number of Assistants at all the other Residencies is ordered to be reduced to one.

The Reduction of our Allowances we shall all severely feel. Neither Jenkins nor Elphinstone nor I ever lived within the former Limits ; and how we shall be able to make both Ends meet upon the new Scale, I cannot yet conceive. Elphinstone told me, that upon an Average, he has always spent, in addition to his publick Allowance, 1500 Rupees a Month of his personal Salary which is upward of half ; and Claret he says is now out of the question. I am reducing my Establishment as much as I can, and am resolved, if I can possibly help it, not to break in upon my personal Salary. But, although I have no sort of obligation to boil my own Tripe, or black my own Shoes, I must have a Pint of Claret for myself, and a Bottle for my Friend . . . ”

(18) *Henry Russell to his father, Hyderabad, 14 August 1816*

Encloses a letter from Lord Moira thanking him for his report on Hyderabad affairs.

“ . . . I had a very civil answer from Lord Moira dated the 6th of June. He says ‘Had not peculiar occupation for which I am sure of Your Allowance, interrupted me, so much Time would not have lapsed in my thanking you for the highly satisfactory knowledge you have given me respecting Individuals at Hyderabad. In the State of Society which an Indian Court presents, the Views, Inclinations or Prejudices of leading Men are everything. There is such little conception of the Interest of a State, and there would be so scanty a regard to it if it were comprehended, that the Character of the prominent Individuals must form the main Ground of one’s Play in managing any political object. You really have put me so much in possession of material Clues, that I shall henceforth understand many bearings of Intelligence from your quarter, which might otherwise have escaped me. I have further to express my Obligations for the Portraits of the Personages most prominent on your Theatre. They must give a tolerable Notion of the Figure. The Deficiency of such a Representation once caused me no little Amusement when I perused the Description of myself secretly transmitted by a Vakeel to his Sovereign . . . ’

“Nothing particular has lately occurred in Hyderabad Politicks. The Nizam has taken to excessive drinking again, and is troublesome and absurd in his Conduct ; but while he only talks and threatens I shall leave him to himself. He will find me I hope a Match for him if ever he attempts to reduce his Theory to Practice. His Sons still continue in Golconda . . . I am very busy reading Italian, with an Italian Priest who has come from Madras, and will stay with me until towards the End of the Year . . . ”

(19) *Henry Russell to his father, Hyderabad, 8 October 1816*

\*My dearest Father,

I hope that I shall be the first to announce to you the important step I have taken, although it is one which will cause you great Concern and Disappointment. I have contracted a Second Marriage, under circumstances of which you cannot approve, and which I fear you never may forgive. The Lady's Name is Clotilde Mottet. She is a Frenchwoman and a Catholic, and was born and bred at Pondicherry. I think it just to confess these great objections against her family; but it is also just, and it is due both to her and to myself to state such Considerations as there are to qualify and soften them. Her Family is confessedly the first French Family in India: it is ancient, and under the old Monarchy it was noble, on both her Father's and her Mother's side. Her Father has always borne a character of the highest Respectability, and has enjoyed the Confidence both of our Government and of his own. During the Administration of Lord Cornwallis he was Governor of Chandernagore, and since Pondicherry has been held by us, the Superintendance of the Local jurisdiction has been entrusted entirely to him. He has just now received a Pension from the French Government, on which he talks of retiring to France, but as he is near 72, and is very infirm, he may probably resolve on passing the short remainder of his Life in India. With regard to the young Lady herself, her Age is 22. She is rather above the Middle Height, and has a slender graceful Figure; her Complexion is Fair, and she is pretty, without being handsome. She has been living here for two years, and we have been attached to one another for near a Twelvemonth; so that I know perhaps as much of her as a Man almost ever knows of a Woman before he marries her. She is mild and quiet in her manners, reserved with strangers, but cheerful and playful with those she knows; and she is very gentle and affectionate in her Disposition. She is quick in her Capacity, I think, and very desirous of cultivating and improving her Mind. The living with me, and with those who are about me, will encourage her in the Wish I have always seen in her to be an English Woman; and if I were as fully satisfied in all other Respects as I am that she will make me happy, I should feel none of the Distress which I now experience at forming such a Connexion. She has two Brothers and three Sisters. Her elder Brother is an Officer in the King's Guard at Paris, and is one of the few who adhered to the King after Buonaparte's Return from Elba. The younger arrived in India from France about six Months ago: he is now at Hyderabad, and I mean to place him in the Russell Brigade. Of her Sisters, the elder is

unmarried, notwithstanding some good offers she has received ; being, as I understand, a very fine and elegant Woman. The Second is married to Major Doveton, whom you remember on Lord Wellersey's Staff and who now commands a Regiment of Cavalry with this Force. It is with this Sister that she has been living at Hyderabad. The other Sister, who is the only one that is younger than her, is unmarried and lives with her Father and Mother.

You must not imagine, from the Coolness and Distinctness with which I write that I do not feel all that I ought to do on such an Occasion. From long looking at the Objections against the Step I have taken, my mind has become familiar with them : and having come to a Decision to set them aside, I owe it to my own Tranquility to exercise all the Firmness I can command, and to struggle as well as I am able against the Reproaches and Privations which await me. The Displeasure which you must feel I acknowledge to be perfectly just ; and no Consideration, short of that of Fondness for a Woman, could have tempted me to incur it. I shall submit to it without a Murmur, being conscious that I have sinned against you, though in other Respects I may still think myself worthy to be called your son. My Marriage will hardly affect the Amount of My Fortune, or require me on that Account, to stay longer in India than I otherwise should have done. But when I find that you are estranged, and that your Door will be shut against me I shall have lost one of the strongest Inducements I had to return to England, and shall probably therefore remain more years at Hyderabad and mass a larger Fortune, than I have hitherto intended. But although I shall never assail you with Importunity, or complain of any Asperity with which you may treat me, I shall always be eager to return upon the first Appearance of your being softened towards me. If any Consideration for the Frailty of our Nature, or any Allowance you may be disposed to make for the Warmth of my Affections ; if any good you may remember of me, or any Praise you may hear of my Wife, should induce you to pardon my Error, and restore me to your Favour, I shall return to you with a Heart as full as ever of Gratitude and Fondness, and shall shew you, I hope, that I have ever loved and reverenced you as you deserve ; and that the Point in which I have offended you, is the only one in which I am capable of doing so. I have now but one Request to make of you. Whatever your final Determination may be, let it be communicated to me through Charles. He has always been my Friend and Comforter in every Distress. He will soften the Blow that I must suffer ; and if you justly know the Value I set upon your Affection, you will not think it necessary to aggravate the Pain I shall suffer at losing it. I shall continue

to write to you as usual, until you desire me to do so no longer. But my Sisters will make Allowance for the Embarrassment I am under, and will not I hope impute it to Unkindness that I do not write to them. Whatever my future Condition may be towards you all, I shall feel I am their Brother ; and even if your Eye should be averted from me for ever, I shall still be towards you, as I always have been, your most grateful and most affectionate Son,

Henry Russell."

Sir H. Russell Bart.

(20) *Henry Russell to his father, Hyderabad, 29 November 1816*

" . . . The Account of your Money in Palmer's House, which stands in Charles's Name, was made up on the 25th of Aug 1st. The Native Year, in which they keep their Accounts, is shorter by some Days than our Year, and therefore more favourable for the Constituent. On the 30th of September 1815 you had with them Hyd. Rupees 1,08345. 8. 6. and the Interest due on the 25th August 1816 was 11.880. 7. 6., making the Balance in your Favour on that Day Hyd. Rupees 1,20,226. Charles will have told you that Palmer consented very handsomely, on receiving the Engineer's Explanation, not only to pay the Balance of Interest that was due to you, but also to allow Interest upon the amount from the original Date at which it ought to have been paid . . . Metcalfe returned to China long ago, and I hope you will have heard something satisfactory from him about your Money there . . . In Consequence of the Representations of the different Residents, Lord Moira has restored to us the former Rate of Allowance for our Expenses. Adam says, in his Official Answer to my Letter on the Subject, 'The Governour General in Council is satisfied, both from the unanswerable reasoning contained in your Letter, and from his own Observation and Reflexion, that the Requirements and Reductions, necessary to bring Expenditure of the Residency within the Bounds presented by the Honble. Court, cannot be effected, without, on the one Hand, lowering the Respectability and Efficiency of the Resident's representative character, and consequently impairing the Reputation and Dignity of the Government itself in the publick Estimation, or, on the other, imposing a large Portion of the requisite Equipments and Establishments as a Charge on the personal Salary of the Resident, which has always been held to be, and apparently is intended by the Honble. Court to be, exclusively for his own Benefit. The Governour General is satisfied that no Effort on your Part has been wanting

to apply to the Establishments of the Residency those Principles of Economy and Retrenchment which are so pointedly urged by the Honble. Court. Under this Conviction, and on the Grounds above adverted to, His Lordship in Council has determined to suspend the Operation of the Honble. Court's Orders, regarding the Reduction in the established Sum authorised for Table, Attendants, Camp Equipage etc. until the further Pleasure of the Honble. Court shall be ascertained, in reply to a Representation which will be submitted to them by the Governour General in Council.'

"This is an important Object gained, as it will remove the Necessity of our breaking in upon our personal Salary, which otherwise we might have done, to maintain an appearance of even common Decency and Credit . . . My Acct. at Hyderabad on the 1st Sept. 1816.

Balance Sept. 30, 1815	...	...	108345	8	6
Interest thereon to 25 Augt. 1816	...	...	11880	7	6
Interest on Engineer's to the 1 Sept. 1816			1556	13	0
<hr/>					
121782 13 0"					

(21) *Henry Russell to his father, Hyderabad, 8 March 1817*

" . . . Pitman accepted the Offer I made him, and has been appointed by Lord Moira to the Nizam's regular Infantry in Berar . . .

"We are all well, and perfectly quiet at Hyderabad. The Nizam is drunk from Morning till Night . . . "

(22) *Henry Russell to his father, Hyderabad, 7 June 1817*

War is about to break out with the Maratha Peshwa.

" . . . I told you that Lord Hastings had approved of a Plan I submitted to him for organizing a Body of the Nizam's Horse in Berar and placing it under the Command of European Officers. The Measure has now been completely accomplished. The Horse are commanded by Capt. Davies, who did command the 2nd Regiment of the Russell Brigade; and he has five other Officers of our own Army employed under him . . . I am very much concerned to tell you, that a difference of a serious Nature has arisen between Charles and me, which made it absolutely necessary that we should separate. Pitman, who is entirely in the Confidence of both of us, and through whom our Communications

passed, did all that could be done to compose Matters. But nothing effectual could be done ; and I believe he is satisfied that it was necessary for Charles to leave Hyderabad. He set out on his Way to Calcutta on the 17th and arrived at Madras on the 26th of last month. What his future Intentions are, he will himself have told you ; and I willingly therefore refrain from saying anything more on a Subject, of which any further Mention would be painful to you, and unavailing to us . . . ”

(23) *Henry Russell to his father, Hyderabad, 19 September 1817*

He acknowledges that his marriage was an imprudent one, but is glad to learn that his father is not too displeased. About his wife he writes : “ It is no small Praise, that having passed at one Step from the Bottom to the Top of Society here, she has not given even a Pretext of Complaint to those who certainly are jealous of her . . . She has just had a miscarriage. . . . If we do give you any grandchildren, you may depend upon it they shall be Protestants . . . ”

Operations are about to begin against the Pindaris. He has met Sir John Malcolm who talks too much of himself.

(24) *Henry Russell to his father, Hyderabad, 22 August 1818* .

“ . . . My Fortune I am husbanding as much as I can, and am quite as anxious to be in England in 1821, as you can be to see me there. I have now in George Saundar’s Hands Company’s Paper to the Amount of 4,36,100 Sicca Rupees, in W. Palmer’s House about 1,70,000 Hyd. Rupees, in Alexander’s of Calcutta about 12,000 Siccas, and in miscellaneous Sums perhaps, not counting Jewels or Property of any Kind, about 30,000 Sicca more. I do not spend a Shilling that I can lay by with Credit . . . ”

“ . . . Lord Hastings has returned from his Campaign to Calcutta. He has returned triumphant, as Men generally do who fight with good Troops against bad ones, and but for the Escape of the Nagpore Rajah, his Triumph and the Completion of the Peace would have been celebrated together. But although the fugitive Rajah had not many Friends, we had a great many Enemies who have taken advantage of his Name and Situation, and have collected a considerable Force in the Districts which were formerly his and are now ours near the Tappy, between Nagpore and the Nerbudda. They cut up and completely destroyed a Party of 100 Bengal Sepoys under a Captain Sparkes ; some small Details have also suffered from them ; and as yet no Check has been given to their Operations, but Troops are now moving against them from all Quarters.

Notwithstanding the badness of the Season and the hard work from which they have not yet completely recovered, Doveton's Troops have moved from Jaulna towards Ellichpore and wherever the Enemy can be seen of course they will be beaten ; but another Campaign will be troublesome and expensive, and it will be discreditable also as with a little good Management it might have been avoided. You will have seen, by all my Letter, that although I admired Jenkin's Spirit during the attack on our Troops at Nagpore in November 1817, which was I believe every thing that Spirit of the highest Kind could be, still that I have differed from him in all his subsequent measures. The Mischiefs that have resulted may not perhaps prove that I was right but they certainly prove that he was wrong. His one's Arrangements have been widely different. He has gone on from Success to Success, and the Result of his Measures has been exactly what might have been expected from the Ability with which they were framed. Nothing I really believe could exceed the Skill and Judgement with which he has conducted both the Military Plan of the War and the Civil Settlement of the Country ; though I still think, and by what I near I suspect he now thinks himself, that if he had originally pursued a different course towards the Paishwah making, some allowance for those moral as well as other Points in which the Natives of India are inferior to us, all the Commotions that have happened might have been prevented ; and the Paishwah would have continued at this Day, what I conscientiously believe he was when I quitted him seven years ago, a cordial and faithful ally. To make our Empire in India secure it is absolutely necessary that our political controul having already been extended so far shall be made universal : but I would rather exercise that controul through dependant Princes, than take the whole Country into our own Hands. The Source of our ultimate overthrow for I do not believe that our vast Indian Empire will form a single exception to the Rule of all other Empires since the World began, will be found I think in our own Native Troops or Subjects ; and the more therefore we enlarge them, the more we enlarge our Sphere of Danger. I admire, for I recommended, the Policy which influenced Lord Hastings to begin the Pindarry War ; and the Wars with Poona and Nagpore were forced upon us, at least in their occurrence at that particular Time ; but being once engaged in Hostilities, I am afraid his Lordship coveted more than he ought the Fame of a Conqueror ; and beginning with the moderate Design of destroying Banditti has ended by aspiring to form one of a Triumvirate with Bacchus and Alexander. Lord Hastings seems to have disapproved of the liberal Terms which Malcolm granted to the Paishwah, not on the ground of Expense, for the Continuance of the War would have cost

mote than his Pension ; but because they were too indulgent ; instead of soothing the misfortunes of a fallen Enemy, he should have trampled on his Neck ; but on this Point at least I am a Malcolmite, and think his Settlement with the Paishwah one of the most masterly Things he ever did. Lord Hastings I believe would have had the Paishwah referred to Elphinstone, with whom he never would or could have treated. The Nagpore Rajah afterwards proposed to surrender himself to Malcolm, who with great Dignity and Propriety referred him to Jenkins, to whom, for the same Reasons, he neither can nor will surrender. It is not unlikely that some Reward and possibly also some Honour, may be given to Elphinstone and Jenkins. The Superiority of Jenkin's Claims and Talents it is impossible to dispute ; but if the Distinction is extended to Jenkins, I shall think that I am ill used if I am overlooked. A very little Relaxation in Confidence and Firmness would have given me the same Battle to fight here that was fought at Poona and Nagpore ; and surely it was a Service of some Importance, not only to preserve Tranquility in the Nizam's Territory at such a Crisis, but to call forth the active Resources of his Government, to a Degree far exceeding what was done either in the Seringaptam War, or in the Marhatta War of 1803, when it was capable of doing much more than it is now. When the Danger first appeared, Lord Hastings was evidently sensible of the great Importance of securing Hyderabad ; for Adam, in a private Letter to me of the 2nd January, said 'I have received your Letter of the 4th December, (written immediately after the Explosion at Nagpore) which was particularly acceptable, as giving Assurances of all being quiet with you to that Date. The Confidence you expressed of the Continuance of this State of Things, from the Time the Paishwah broke out was very consoling at a Time when a new Enemy seemed starting up in every Quarter.' And in this Opinion, that I should be able to keep Matters quiet at Hyderabad, I believe I stood alone ; Elphinstone and Malcolm and everybody else seeming to think that even if an Explosion did not take Place at the Capital, the Frontier Districts would all be in Insurrection. But glad as Lord Hastings was of the Nizam's being kept quiet at the Time, he now perhaps regards his Fidelity as the Loss of a Wreath, and considers me as having deprived his Triumph of a Sovereign in Fetters. As yet the foregoing Extract from Adam's Letter is all that has been said to me upon the Subject. When all the Business of the War is over, and the Partition Treaty, the Instructions for which have not yet been issued, shall have been concluded, I shall perhaps receive a flattering Letter of Commendation ; but I shall be mortified to receive only empty Praise, while others are rewarded with solid Distinction. If

you have any Friends at the India House, or in the Administration, through whom you can procure any attention to my Claims, it may be as well to make Experiment. I should never have thought of asking for Reward; though if Rewards are distributed I shall not like to be altogether overlooked . . . ”

This letter is inserted here because it contains his opinion of the settlement in 1818.

(25) *Henry Russell to Mountstuart Elphinstone, September 1818*

“My dear Elphinstone,

I have received your Letter of the 4th Instant. I see no reason to apprehend anything serious in the Nizam’s Country, but I confess I do not like the general aspect of our affairs. The calm that prevails I am afraid, is rather apparent than real. All the show and splendour of our Measures is over, but much of the labour and Expence is yet behind. The trouble which Appa Sahib of Nagpore has been able to give us, without either Talents, Character, or Money, with no Name but that of our Enemy, shews what a Disposition prevails to oppose the Introduction of our Authority, and what ample materials are ready to any hand that will turn them to Violence and Plunder. The straggling Districts which composed the former Nagpore Territory, extending from the Godavery beyond the Nerbudda, comprehending almost every diversity of Country, and partially inhabited by the very description of People, whom it is most difficult to bring into subjection to a regular Government, are full of the capabilities, and it appears also of the Disposition to oppose us. The successful resistance offered by the Arabs to Doveton’s Force in December, has done a world of mischief. It has taught them the way of acting against us with effect, and has raised up a new Enemy, whom we may now expect to encounter in every Warfare that breaks out. They are conscious of their own strength, and see that we are bent on their expulsion, and will certainly assemble wherever there is a Point to rally upon, and try hard to fight it out with us to the last. I never liked our Policy at Nagpore. We have done neither one thing nor the other. We have neither taken the Country for ourselves, nor given it to a Native Government; but have pursued a mixed and middle Line; a course which generally partakes of the Evil of both Extremes, without having the advantages of either. If the Country was worth our taking, we had better have taken it all at once; but if, as I think, it was not, we ought to have satisfied ourselves with a few frontier arrangements, and still have maintained the Native Government under a new

Member of the Family. As it is, we are fighting in a Cause, where there is no striking success to be gained, where every little reverse hurts our credit, and where after all, we are contending for a Country of which our own Share will not pay us for holding, much less for conquering it, and the remainder we give to the Phantom of a Government, which serves no other Purpose than to make us odious, by keeping alive old Feelings, and exhibiting to the people a Perpetual contrast between what they are and what they have been. In your part of the Country too, I suspect the People have been rather stunned than subdued. The violence of the concussion has stupefied them, but they will soon begin to recollect themselves, and make comparisons ; and so many will have lost, and so few have gained by the change, that we must not expect a quiet submission to our authority. If anything can keep down the spirit of discontent, and prevent the Flame from breaking out, until the Fuel has been removed, it is the efficient authority which you exercise, but if you go away, or the country is distributed to the Madras or Bombay Governments, and placed under the ordinary management of their local officers, I do expect that very general and troublesome Insurrections will break out ; and it will then be seen how much our Government is disliked among a People who have been accustomed to a Prince of their own Nation and Religion, and whose condition was never so bad as to make the protection of our System worth the Price they are called upon to pay for it. In this respect, the annexing of the Marhatta Territories to our own is a new era in our History. Our former acquisitions have been made from Mahometans, whose subjects merely exchanged one foreign Prince for another, and lost nothing in point of national Feeling to derogate from the value of what they certainly gained in security. The same objection, which I think, lies against the Principle of arrangement at Nagpore, extends in a great measure to that at Poona. After what had passed, I certainly would have set aside not only Bajie Row's Person, but his Family, and with it the whole system of Braminical Power ; but what was the use of restoring a Marhatta Government at Satarah, unless it was placed on such a footing, as to have some real as well as nominal resemblance to the state which it was professed to represent ? I do not see what advantage we gain by the restoration of the old Line, and we certainly derive no credit in the Eyes of the world, from the exhibition of this miserable and needy Pageant. It is better to make a Pageant of a troublesome ally, rather than to depose him ; but where is the wisdom of setting up a new man to serve no other Purpose than that of a Pageant from the beginning. I would either have provided for the Family on a Pension, as we did for the King of Delhy ; or I would have given them

an Extent of Territory above the Ghauts, which should have enabled them really to look and act like a respectable Power. If the Southern Jagheerdars were to be left in the Enjoyment of their possessions, and I do not see how we could prudently have deprived them altogether: Why not have made them a part of the Sattarah Government? They might have answered as subjects of the Rajah, but they will never answer as Subjects of Ours. Our System is as ill-suited to them, as their habits are to us. Notwithstanding Lord Hastings's strictures upon Malcolm's arrangement with Bajee Row, I do not believe that, at the time, he was to be got hold of on other conditions. Still the settlement affords no permanent security. It answers the temporary Purpose of withdrawing his Person, and dissolving his army and leaving us at leisure to prosecute our own arrangements. But he is still at liberty to appear against us hereafter; and notwithstanding the agreeable contrast he may just now draw between his present Ease and the distresses and Privations of his late Campaign, that feeling will soon pass away. We overrate our happiness, as much as we underrate our sufferings, when we look back at them; and Bajee Row will soon begin to sigh after his former condition. Intrigue is the very life and soul of his character; and if we do not send him to Saint Helena, he will dissolve the congress by returning from Elba.

"The Nizam himself, and most of the Persons whom it is now almost ludicrous to call his Nobles, are sorry for the downfall of the Paishwah and the Nagpore Rajah, because they hate the Feringees, and think that if once the deposition of Princes and the annexation of Territory become the order of the day, their turn will come at last. But they have not the means of making an open attempt against us. The little strength they have is in our hands. We shall break their heads with their own Weapons; and Chundoo Loll, who is as strong a Minister as a man of his weak character can be made, with the office, has I think succeeded to the maxim of Meer Allum, that it is wise to adhere closely to us for support, as long as they are too feeble to throw off their dependance, and stand firmly by themselves. All I apprehend therefore is, that the contagion from your side and Nagpore will spread along the Frontier Districts. In your direction we shall have principally to look towards Kurmulla and Purranida, and perhaps also towards Kulburga. Kandy Row must be dispossessed of Kurmulla; but I have not yet had the means of doing anything against him. The Nizam's border Districts in that direction are full of Marhatta feelings. Culburga I suspect, because I found, that during the War, the recruiting for the Paishwah was very active there. Dooly Khan however, who arrived here yesterday tells me that he has not yet seen any symptoms of Insurrection. His station is

in the very Heart of the suspicious Districts, and as he is both strong and trustworthy, if anything should occur, he will be of great use to us. He shall be sent off again immediately so as to be at his Post by the opening of the Season. To the Eastward my apprehensions are more distinct . . . (Here follows much detail of local interest). . . . The Danger however lies more on your side of the Frontier than on mine, and therefore if there is any other disposition which you wish to be made, let me know, and it shall be done. If we can keep the Peace for three years, the danger will be over."

(26) *Henry Russell to his father, Hyderabad, 22 May 1820*

Death of his wife's father at Pondicherry at age of 77.

" . . . I have been directed to reform the Nizam's Government, and correct the Abuses of his Administration . . . "

C. COLLIN DAVIES

# USE OF NAPHTHALENE AS A FUMIGANT FOR BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS IN LIBRARIES AND RECORD DEPOSITORYES

NAPHTHALENE is a cheap and readily available insect repellent, and its use as such has been well known to the librarians and archivists of the world for the protection of books and manuscripts against insect attack. Recent experiments conducted elsewhere have shown that naphthalene, although considered to be a very weak insecticide because of its low vapour concentration at ordinary room temperature, acts as a very effective fumigant at a temperature range of 30-35°c. It has been observed that molecule for molecule naphthalene is more effective as a fumigant than carbondisulphide, carbon tetrachloride, or paradi-chlorobenzene.

A series of experiments have been planned in the Research Laboratory of the National Archives of India to study the possibilities of the use of naphthalene for the fumigation of books, manuscripts, records and depository rooms. In some of the experiments conducted so far it has been observed that a concentration of 7 oz. (app.  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb.) of naphthalene per 10 cubic feet at a temperature of 25-30°c required about 90-100 minutes (about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hrs.) for paralysing some of the common record feeders like cockroaches, silverfish and *Gastrallus indicus* larvae. Effective concentration of the chemical was obtained by passing a hot air blast through a vertical column of naphthalene powder, which was injected into the test vessel.

The results obtained are given in the table at the appendix.

In order to maintain uniformity of observations, the following terms are indicative of:—

*Active* : Quick movement of the species in the test vessel, and crawling.

*Inactive* : Slight movement of parts only.

*Paralysis, identified with death* : No movement even on slight disturbance.

Further work in this direction continues.

Research Laboratory,  
National Archives of India,  
New Delhi, February 1955.

Ranbir Kishore  
C. P. Mehra

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## APPENDIX

FUMIGATION OF BOOK-INSECTS WITH NAPHTHALENE  
(Temp. range 25-30°c)

<i>Species under test</i>	<i>Number in test vessel</i>	<i>Concentration of fumigant in test vessel</i>	<i>Time for inactivity</i>	<i>Time for paralysis</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
<i>Cockroach</i>	Test six	0.695 gm./liter	Four cockroaches were found to be inactive after 45 minutes	90-100 minutes	As soon as the fumigant was introduced in the test vessel the insects showed increased activity. Paralysed insects were kept exposed to fresh air for 3 to 4 hours. No signs of activity were shown.
	Control	six	nil	—	Insects in the control vessel were examined next day (20 hours) and all were found active.
<i>Silverfish</i>	Test four	0.695 gm./liter	All the insects showed inactivity after 40-45 minutes	90-100 minutes	Paralysed insects were kept exposed to fresh air. No signs of activity were observed even after 3-4 hours.
	Control	four	nil	—	Insects in the control vessel were examined next day (20 hours) and all were found active.
<i>Gastrallus Indian Larvae</i>	Test eight	0.695 gm./liter	No observation could be made	90-100 minutes (only two larvae showed signs of inactivity on disturbance)	None of the eight larvae showed any signs of activity when left exposed to fresh air for 3-4 hours.
	Control	eight	nil	—	Six larvae were found active when examined after 20 hours.

## NEWS NOTES

### INDIA

#### *National Archives of India*

The accessioning of the non-current records of the various departments of the Government of India in the National Archives of India continued during this period at a slightly accelerated pace. Notable among these accruals are 347 bundles of records of the late Foreign and Political Department (1891-1923), 46 bundles of the Ministry of Finance (1943-48), 112 boxes of Central India States Agency and 30 bundles of the Office of the Salt Commissioner (1921-27).

In order to have a complete picture of an event or an episode, the historian needs, in addition to the official version, the evidence provided by private papers. It is mainly with this object that the National Archives is building up its collection of microfilms. Recent additions to this collection are six reels of microfilm copies of selected items of Indian interest from the Chatham and Pitt Papers (1757-1805) in the custody of the Public Record Office, London, and 39 reels of selected items from Additional Manuscripts and the Egerton Collection from the British Museum, London. Among the important items discussed in Pitt and Chatham Papers are grant of Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Pitt's India Act of 1784, commercial privileges of the East India Company, Company's debts, impeachment of Warren Hastings, Third Mysore War etc., while items from the Additional Manuscripts include archives of the Romish Church at Goa, manuscripts bequeathed by Major General Thomas Hardwicke dealing with the history and antiquities of India etc. Other significant acquisitions include photostat copies of 3 letters written by Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore and Muhammad Iqbal to their friends in Hungary. Mahatma Gandhi in his letter to Ervin Baktay, Budapest, dated 15 March 1924, enlarges upon the theme of universal application of the principle of non-violence.

The collection of Persian manuscripts was further enriched by gift or purchase of several manuscripts of historical importance. Special mention may be made of *Wakiat-i-Alamgiri* by Aqil Khan and *Tarikh-i-Farishta*, Volumes I & II.

The Publication Programme of the Department made steady progress during the period under review. The printing of Vol. XVII of *Fort William-India House Correspondence* was completed except for the index which is now in the press. Volumes I & II of the same series are still in the press and are expected to be issued out in the next few months. The backlog of the Annual Reports of the National Archives having been liquidated by the publication of the *Quinquennial Review 1948-52*, it was decided to revert to the old practice of publishing Annual Reports. In accordance with this decision the *Annual Report 1953*, has been sent to the press. Volume

X of the *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* covering the years 1792-93, and *Index to the records of the Foreign and Political Department 1756-80*, are ready for printing and arrangements are being made to select a suitable press.

The National Archives programme of printing pamphlets has been expanded by the addition of a companion series called "Our Neighbours" to the one issued under the title of "Source Materials of History". The new series is restricted to documents written in Arabic, Persian and Urdu in the custody of the National Archives and are meant to supplement the knowledge derived from the English records. Two pamphlets "India and the Middle East" and "India and the South East" which were published during the period under the new series have been received with considerable interest in the country. In the original series on "Source Materials", two more pamphlets "Progress of Education (Primary)" and "Progress of Education (Higher)" were brought out.

Under the National Archives Fellowships Scheme for encouraging research in modern Indian History, six candidates were selected from the various universities. Five students have already started work and the sixth is expected to join shortly. Information was also collected from State Governments, Record Offices, Universities and other learned institutions for compiling a *Bulletin of Research Theses and Dissertations* in the Indian Union.

The second three months' Short Term Course in Archive-Keeping for 1954 commenced on 1 July with 13 trainees from the Ministries and offices of the Central and State Governments on the roll. The course was completed on 30 September 1954. To supplement the regular classes for the trainees in One Year Diploma Course, arrangements were made for a series of seminars under the guidance of the Director of Archives and the Assistant Directors of Archives. The course concluded on 30 September with an examination in which all the four candidates Messrs Duli Chand, Vijay Kumar, L. C. Goswamy and K. N. Ramachandran came out successful.

A new portable microfilming camera has been acquired to enable the microfilming of records "in situ".

The National Archives of India Library has been allotted a sum of Rs. 2500/- under the Wheat Loan Programme for purchase of books. A list of books selected for purchase has accordingly been drawn up.

#### *Research and Publication Committee, Indian Historical Records Commission*

The twenty-third meeting of the Research and Publication Committee was held at the National Archives of India on 30 October 1954. In the absence of Prof. Humayun Kabir, *ex-officio* Chairman of the Committee, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the seniormost member of the Committee presided over the meeting. The accommodation in the National Archives Research

room was considered inadequate and the Committee appointed a Sub-Committee consisting of Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. S. N. Sen, Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad and the Director of Archives, Government of India, to go into the question and suggest ways and means for providing additional accommodation for research scholars. The Committee further recommended that the various universities and research institutions be requested to take more active interest in the study of regional and local history, the materials for which are available at the State Record Offices as it was felt that in this manner the numerous gaps in the history of India could be bridged. The third resolution of the Committee stressed the desirability of achieving uniformity in the production of archival publications of the State Governments and the National Archives in respect of editing, printing, quality and durability of paper etc. In order to avoid duplication in historical research, the Committee recommended that lists of topics in later medieval and modern periods of Indian History which are taken up at the various universities and other centres of research be published by the National Archives of India once in two years. The Committee rounded off its deliberations by recommending the establishment of a separate Records Survey Committee for the newly created State of Andhra.

#### *Local Records Sub-Committee*

The 14th meeting of the Local Records Sub-Committee, an adjunct of the Indian Historical Records Commission, was held on 9 July 1954, in New Delhi. Professor Humayun Kabir, Educational Adviser to the Government of India, and *ex-officio* Chairman of the Committee, presided. The other members present were Sardar Fateh Singh, Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, Dr. J. N. Khosla, Director, Historical Division, Ministry of External Affairs, Shri C. Ganesan, Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of States, Shri E. Kolet, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Finance and Dr. B. A. Saletore, Director of Archives, National Archives of India (Secretary). The Committee took note of the fact that there was an acute shortage of accommodation in the Ministries and that unless the bulk of their non-current records was taken over by the National Archives of India, it would not be possible for them to maintain properly their semi-current and current records. The Chairman informed the Committee in this connection that the Planning Commission had sanctioned an expenditure of Rs. 18 lakhs for the construction of an annexe to the National Archives building to cope with the increasing demands of space from the various Ministries of the Government of India. The Committee agreed in principle that the Ministries and the Departments of the Government of India should adopt a uniform filing system on the basis of subject indexes prepared by them. The question of requisitioning of records from the National Archives of India by the various Ministries was then taken up. The Committee viewed with concern the fact that no uniform policy in this

connection was being followed. It recommended that standard requisition forms be used and that the records borrowed be returned to the National Archives within three months of issue. It was also stressed that under no circumstances must a record borrowed by one Department be loaned to another without the knowledge of the Director of Archives. Finally, the Committee approved certain rules for the scrutiny of excerpts taken from the records at the National Archives of India by *bona fide* research scholars.

*Secretariat Record Office, Bombay*

In addition to the annual accessions from the various Departments of the Government of Bombay, the Secretariat Record Office has acquired several photostat copies of Persian manuscripts, among which mention may be made of *Insha-i-Shah Tahir* and *Ahwal-i-Asad Beg*. They form an important source for medieval Deccan history. A microfilm copy was also prepared of a manuscript in Dakhani Urdu entitled *Ibrahim Nama* which was completed in 1603-1604 A.D. at the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur.

The office has made considerable progress in the cataloguing and listing of the Public Department Diaries (1813-1817). The office is engaged in the publication of the English translations of the "Persian Records of Maratha History". "Delhi News-Letters" which forms Volume I in the series was published in 1953. The second volume of the series "Sindhia as Regent of Delhi" (1787 and 1789-91) translated and edited by Jadunath Sarkar is in the press and is expected to be published shortly. It deals with Lalsot Campaign and also contains news-letters from Mahadji Sindhia's camp for the years 1789-91. Materials for a supplementary volume of the Poona Residency Correspondence Series are also being compiled.

The records of Raja Pratap Singh of Satara, housed at the Central Record Office, Allahabad, and those of Kagal Jagir were inspected. The latter were brought to Kolhapur Record Office for custody.

*Alienation Office, Poona*

The Director of Archives, Bombay, continues to supervise the activities of this office and is responsible for the upkeep, preservation and publication of its records. The Advisory Committee of the office held three meetings during the year ending March 1954. According to its suggestions the Government of Bombay ordered the abolition of the Alienation Office printing press from 1 April 1954. The savings thus effected would be utilised for getting records of historical and cultural importance at the Alienation Office microfilmed. The record collection of the Office was enriched by the accrual of two bundles of Brahmanal records obtained through the Collector of South Satara, Sangli. It was also decided to bring over the records of Aundh and Phaltan States for safe custody in the office.

*Baroda Record Office*

Shri V. G. Joshi, who was officiating as Director of Archives at the Bombay Secretariat Record Office, reverted to his post as Superintendent of Records in Baroda Record Office. Listing and arrangement of records engaged the main attention of the Office during 1953-54. A volume entitled *Historical Selections from Baroda* was sent to the press.

*Madras Record Office*

The recent acquisitions of the Madras Record Office consist of records of the various departments of the Secretariat for 1950, those of the Board of Revenue for 1942-43, Electoral Rolls for 1954 and Deeds relating to Land Mortgage Banks, House Building Societies, Loans under the State Aid to Industries Act, and Public Works Department, and Documents relating to Hindu Religious Endowments. The acquisitions during this period in pursuance of the Government decision to transfer the records of the Committees appointed from time to time for specific matters to Madras Record Office include records of the *ad hoc* Committee on Leather and Leather Goods Industry, 1946, and those of the Committee under Section 5(1) (a) of the Minimum Wages Act, 1948, for employment in woollen carpet making and shawl weaving establishments, 1950-51. Other accessions include files of the merged State of Pudukkottai up to 1857 and the records of the office of the ex-Educational adviser to the Madras Government.

Under the new publication programme sanctioned by the Madras Government, the Record Office is to publish revised editions of the Gazetteers of eight districts in the State, Gazetteers for the remaining six districts, and abridged editions of the Gazetteers under the title "District Hand Books" in the language of the district concerned. The revision of the Gazetteer of the Tanjore District has already been taken in hand.

The latest publications of the office include *Diary and Consultations* for the period 1758, 1759 and 1760, *Proceedings of the Mayor's Court*, 1728, *Public Despatches from England*, 1757-58 and *Fort St. David Consultations*, 1754. Two more volumes, *Public Despatches from England*, 1751-52, and 1752-53 respectively have been sent to the press.

*Orissa State Archives, Bhuvaneswar*

It is gratifying to learn that the State Archives intends to publish *in extenso* the documents relating to the *Paik* rising of Orissa (1817 A.D.) which forms a fascinating episode in the history of Orissa. The relevant materials have already been collected. A part of the introduction to the contemplated volume has been published in the Orissa Historical Research Journal under the caption "British conquest of Orissa and Early British Administration".

and the remaining portion will be published in the next issue of the Journal. The documents, after being edited, along with the introduction will be brought out in a book form.

*Directorate of Archives and Museum, PEPSU*

The third Patiala Book Festival was organized in the Archives building, Patiala, from 6-9 November 1954. An exhibition of rare books, historical documents and manuscripts, paintings and photographs of historical personalities also organized on the occasion proved to be quite popular.

Among the fresh accruals to the Directorate mention may be made of the correspondence of the Secretary to His Highness the Rajpramukh of Patiala (1954), records of the Food and Civil Supplies Department (1952-54) and of the Home Department, including Refugees and Rehabilitation records, (1947-49).

*Secretariat Records Office, Assam*

The fresh accessions to the Assam Secretariat Records Office totalled 3,550 files from the different departments of the Government. The amalgamated Index to Government proceedings for the year 1949 is under preparation. The office has undertaken the compilation of descriptive lists of all the records in its custody to facilitate research work.

*State Board for Historical Records and Ancient Monuments, Bombay*

A meeting of the Standing Committee of the State Board for Historical Records and Ancient Monuments was held in Bombay on 23 February 1954. It was decided to publish rare manuscript histories in Persian bearing on the ancient and medieval history of Maharashtra, Karnataka and Gujarat with English translations. Dr. Sardesai's work on "Historical Genealogies" was recommended for publication on behalf of the State Board.

*Central Record Office, Hyderabad*

The Central Record Office, Hyderabad, has recently acquired a unique collection of records of Panchakki Darbar covering the period 1740 onwards. Panchakki Darbar appears to have been the dwelling place of one Baba Shah Mosafar, the most celebrated Naqshbandi of Aurangabad. The collection under review consists of a large number of letters in Persian and Modi scripts written by the followers of Shah Mahmood, Shah Sayeed and others. Notable among these documents is the *Akhbarati Darbar* written on three sheets of paper in the month of Safar 1159 H/1746 A.D. It relates to the events at the court of Nizamul-Mulk Asafjah. There is a mention of the visit of Babu Naik, a Maratha Sardar, to the court and the honour shown him. Further,

these Akhbars throw light on the relations of Nizamul Mulk with Nadir Shah. Two more letters in the collection worth noticing here are those written by Balaji Rao Pandit Pradhan and Malhar Rao Holkar I addressed to Shah Mahmood.

These papers as well as four documents obtained from Gangapur are being scrutinized in the office for assessment of their historical importance.

*Regional Records Survey Committee, Madras*

A meeting of the Committee was held at the Madras Record Office in February 1954. It was decided that a small booklet on the lines of Foster's "Guide to India Office Records" should be prepared for the records in private custody, with the help of a member of the Committee. It was also decided to request the Commissioner, Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments (Administration), Madras, to issue a circular to all the religious and charitable institutions under his control to furnish information regarding the nature and contents of the records in the possession of those institutions. Mr. J. C. Holcombe was requested to help the Committee in the preparation of a list of the old records available in the offices of long-established commercial firms in the State. The Zamindar of Kapileswarapuram was also requested to contact landholders who may be in possession of records of historical value and to acquaint the Committee with the result of his enquiries.

*Regional Records Survey Committee, Bihar*

The Annual Report of the *ad hoc* Committee of Bihar Regional Records Survey Committee for 1953-54 reveals that several historical manuscripts on various topics of interest have been discovered by it. Among the Persian manuscripts which have come to the notice of the Committee two deserve special mention. One of these entitled *Balwant Nama* is a history of Banaras State from the time of Katho Misser till the time of Raja Iswari Prasad Narain Singh. It also describes Warren Hastings's dealings with the State. It was written in 1880 in Persian (Shikasta script) and covers 232 pages. The other Persian manuscript entitled *Ahwat-i-Mahabat Jung* by Yusuf Ali is a rare history of the time of Alivardi Khan Mahabat Jung. This manuscript of 158 pages bears a seal dated 1199 B.H. and is written in Nastaliq Persian.

Unpublished documents of considerable importance regarding the Mutiny of 1857-59 in Northern India in the record rooms of the different divisions and districts of Bihar have come to light. The Convener of the Bihar Regional Records Survey Committee maintains that in the light of the new evidence supplied by these papers it would be incorrect to regard what happened in different parts of India during these eventful years as isolated military outbreaks. In support of his statement he has published several extracts from these records in the body of the *Annual Report*.

*Indian National Scientific Documentation Centre*

With the completion of the second year of its operation, the Indian National Scientific Documentation Centre has already attained a well-established place in the complex of the country's scientific and technological development. Supported by the Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research, it functions under the aegis of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, which has placed it under the administrative control of the Director, National Physical Laboratory of India.

The functions for which INSDOC was established as stated in their *Report* for 1953-54 are: (1) to receive and retain all scientific periodicals required in India, particularly those required by the universities, scientific research organizations and Government laboratories; (2) to supply photocopies and translations of articles required by laboratories or individual workers; (3) to meet demands for abstracts as far as possible, (4) to prepare an index of the journals available and the journals required for various subjects; (5) to be a national repository for reports of the scientific work of the nation, both published and unpublished; and (6) to be a channel through which the scientific work of India and the surrounding countries is made known and made available to the rest of the world.

Considerable progress is claimed to have been achieved in the last two years in building up INSDOC to a level at which it can perform these functions effectively.

**INTERNATIONAL**

*Anglo-American Conference of Historians, 1954*

The 27th Anglo-American Conference of Historians was held at the Institute of Historical Research, London, from 8-10 July 1954. The first general session was addressed by Professor A. J. Toynbee on "World Unity and World History" and the concluding session was addressed by Lady Lenanton (Carola Oman) on "Sir John Moore". In her address Lady Lenanton described how manuscripts were discovered and dealt with by her. Among the papers read at the various sections of the Conference, mention may be made of two papers relating to India—one on "The British Contribution to Indian History" by Professor C. H. Philips and the other on "The East India Interest in the General Election of 1700-1" by Professor R. Walcott.

An exhibition of British historical publications of the year was arranged as usual for the Conference. A new feature this year was the inclusion of the records publications of national and local societies of Great Britain.

Next year's Conference was fixed for 7-9 July 1955.

*International Congress of Historical Sciences*

The tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences has been fixed for 4-11 September 1955 at Rome. The Congress will comprise five

sections: Methodology and General History, Ancient History, Medieval History, Modern History, and Contemporary History. For each of these sections a number of *rapports* dealing with the present state of knowledge in various fields will be prepared and circulated in advance.

#### *International Federation for Documentation*

The twenty-first Conference of the International Federation for Documentation (FID) was held from 20 to 25 September 1954 at the headquarters of the Federal Scientific and Technical Documentation Centre in Belgrade. Dr. J. M. Meyer of Switzerland was elected President of the Conference in place of Mr. Arne Moller, President of FID, who was unable to attend through illness.

The Conference was preceded by meetings of the International Decimal Classification Committee. During the Conference itself there were meetings of FID study committees and reports were presented on training of documentation workers, information services and methods of mechanical selection. During the Conference the following lectures were delivered: 'Some problems of information services' by Mr. Z. Protic (Yugoslavia); 'The organization and aims of documentation in Yugoslavia', by Mr. Drago Vuksa (Yugoslavia); 'The future work of ISO/TC 46 in documentation' (International Organization for Standardization, Technical Documentation Committee), by M. Verhoef (Netherlands); and 'Possibilities and aims of international collaboration within the framework of the FID' by Mr. E. Rickli (Switzerland).

The Council of the FID met and approved the arrangements which had been made to hold the world Congress of Libraries and Documentation Centres in Brussels in September 1955. In addition to meetings to discuss the organizational and bibliographical problems facing all libraries, three plenary meetings will deal with documentary reproduction by photography and microfilming. The Council also approved with some amendments the statutes of a Liaison Committee of International Organization for Librarianship, Archives and Documentation. Further discussion to define the work of this Committee will take place at the next FID Council meeting.

Dr. S. R. Ranganathan (India) was elected one of the five vice-presidents of FID.

#### *Standardization and Documentation*

The Technical Committee ISO/TC 46 (Documentation) of the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) has prepared and recently published with the help of UNESCO a booklet entitled *Standardization in the Domain of Documentation*, (The Hague, 1954, 60 pp.). After a brief description of the general principles and procedures in international standardization, particularly in the domain of documentation, the booklet gives the text of two recommendations—one on an international code for the

abbreviations of titles of periodicals and the other on bibliographical citations and bibliographical references. The two recommendations have already been accepted by ISO Council.

*Inter-Governmental Conference on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict*

At the invitation of the Netherlands Government, an inter-governmental conference convened by UNESCO to consider the drawing up and adoption of a final text of a convention for the protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict was held at The Hague from 21 April to 14 May 1954. Forty-nine countries including India sent delegations.

The text of the Draft Convention was carefully studied and modified during the three weeks of the Conference. For the purposes of the convention, the term cultural property covers movable or immovable property of importance to the cultural heritage of a people, such as monuments of architecture, art or history; archaeological sites; works of art, manuscripts, books and other objects of artistic, historical or archaeological interest; scientific collections and important books or archives or reproductions of the property defined above; and buildings whose main and effective purpose is to preserve or exhibit such movable property, as museums, large libraries and depositors of archives.

The contracting parties undertake to prepare in time of peace for the safeguarding of cultural property against the foreseeable effects of armed conflict and to respect it by refraining from any use likely to expose it to destruction or damage and by refraining from any act of hostility directed against such property. An international register of cultural property under special protection will be established and kept up to date by the Director General of UNESCO.

*Archivum*

*Archivum*, published under the auspices of the International Council of Archives, has completed three years of its publication with Volume III for 1953 just come to hand. In order to enhance the value of the Journal, it has been decided to organize enquiries on subjects relating to Archives in different countries and to publish them in the form of articles in the Journal. Besides, new subjects of research have also been taken in hand and the next number is expected to publish the results of these researches.

An international library of archival publications, notably periodicals received in exchange for the *Archivum* has been constituted.

For the quick utilization of information contained in the first three numbers of the *Archivum*, it has been decided to publish an index. Dr. Graswinckel, President of the International Council on Archives, has been entrusted with its preparation. It is expected to be issued at the same time as the fourth number of the Journal.

*Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*

It is announced that prizes will be awarded annually for five years, beginning in 1955, for written studies dealing "on the basis of a serious analysis of experience, with any aspect of the activity of international organizations". Since the purpose of the prizes is to encourage research by persons who have not yet had an opportunity to establish a reputation, the competition is open only to those who have published at the most one book in the fields of history, law and the social sciences and who are under 40 on 1 July 1955. Prizes are offered both for manuscripts and for printed books. Entries for the first year must be received not later than 1 July 1955. The prize in the manuscript section will be a cash award of 500 dollars and publication of the winning entry, and in the book section a cash award of 1,500 dollars. Full particulars can be had from the Centre Européen de la Dotation Carnegie, Route de Ferney 172, Grand-Saconnex, Geneva, Switzerland.

## UNITED KINGDOM

*Committee on Departmental Records*

The Committee on Departmental Records or the Grigg Committee, so named after its Chairman Sir James Grigg, was appointed in June 1952 by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Master of the Rolls. Its terms of reference were "To review the arrangements for the preservation of the records of the Government Departments (other than the records of Scottish Departments and records transmissible to the Keeper of the Records of Scotland) in the light of the rate at which they are accumulating and of the purposes which they are intended to serve; and to make recommendations as to the changes, if any, in law and practice which are required". In its report published in July 1954, the Committee, after making a general survey of the various Acts issued at different periods of history in connection with the preservation and destruction of the records of Government Departments, endeavour to draw some general conclusions as to the merits of the present arrangements for the selection of documents for preservation, and suggest modifications which are quite bold. In place of the present procedure according to which the Departmental officers prepare a Destruction Schedule which is then examined by the Inspecting Officers of the Public Record Department who decide what type of documents should be excluded from the Schedule on historical grounds, they recommend that the selection of papers to be preserved should rest entirely with the Departments. The basis of their selection should be "if the Department is likely to require a particular document any longer for its own Departmental purpose." Assuming that if a Department decides that a paper "is not likely to be required further for the Department's own purposes, that paper is unlikely to be of any material historical significance", they consider that under the system proposed all

papers likely to be of historical importance will in practice automatically be retained. The quality of the material preserved will improve and its flow to the Public Record Office in a regular and orderly manner will be assured.

#### *The British Museum*

The Trustees of the British Museum have recently published the *Subject Index of Modern Books Acquired, 1941-1945*. It is appreciably shorter than its immediate predecessor in the series, which ran to two volumes although covering an equal span of years. One of the largest new sections is that devoted to works on the 'European War, 1939-45'.

#### *Local Records in England*

A valuable addition to the growing number of guides to the contents of Local Record Offices is *A Handlist of the Records of the Bishop of Lincoln and of the Archdeacons of Lincoln and Stow* (Cambridge, 1953). These records are now preserved in the Record Office at Lincoln. The *Handlist* has been compiled by Miss Kathleen Major. The documents are succinctly described with many helpful references to publications in which they have been printed or discussed.

#### *British Records Association*

By way of appreciation of Sir Hilary Jenkinson's services to the profession of Archivists and to the cause which he has made his own, the British Records Association is preparing and will in due course print in *Archives* a bibliography of his printed works.

#### *The John Rylands Library, Manchester*

The 1954 Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, reports the acquisition, with the generous aid of the Pilgrim Trust, and the Friends of the National Libraries, and private donations, of a collection of Hebrew and Samaritan manuscripts assembled by the late Dr. Moses Gaster. This is the most important collection of manuscripts to come to the library for many years. Materials for a complete study of the Samaritan religion and its beliefs and practices are to be found in this collection of over 300 manuscripts. In the Hebrew Section of some 350 manuscripts, there is an equally wide range of interest. The manuscripts are drawn from a very wide area, a considerable number emanating from Yemen.

Further, the Library received from Viscountess Ashbrook of Arley Hall, Cheshire, two valuable deposits of some 12,000 documents from the Warburton Muniments. They are particularly rich in fine twelfth century seals and records relating to the navigation of the river Weaver, England.

*Scottish Record Office*

According to the *Annual Report of the Keeper of the Records of Scotland for the Calendar year 1954*, just received, apart from the statutory transmissions which show a substantial increase over the last year's accessions, several collections of family and estate papers, correspondence and miscellaneous documents of historical value have been accepted for permanent deposit.

An important volume which has been missing for two centuries or more has recently been recovered under quite unique circumstances. The missing volume of the Royal Household Accounts was offered for sale by a London dealer. On examination this proved to be the Compt Book of Sir Duncan Forrester of Skipinch, Comptroller of the Household of King James IV, containing two complete accounts and two incomplete ones, over the period 1 December 1495 to early in 1499. On its being represented to the possessor, Miss Bertha Scholefield, that the volume was a record belonging to the Queen and as such was *extra commercium*, she immediately waived all claim to it.

Substantial publication work has been undertaken by the office. *Index to Register of Deeds*, 1681 and a volume of the *Letters of James V*, 1513-1542 were issued during the year. The volumes under print include *Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland*, Vol. V, 1556-1567, *Master of Works Accounts* and *Index of Particular Register of Sasines*, Edinburgh, Vol. II, 1624-1630.

*National Register of Archives, Scotland*

Collections surveyed by the National Register of Archives include those of the Earl of Northesk, Lord Polwarth, the Earl of Cawdor, the Earl of Lauderdale, Colonel Guthrie of Guthrie, Trinity House, Leith, and the burgh of Montrose. As a result of the Register's inspection, Lord Polwarths' papers have now been deposited in the Scottish Record Office.

## NEW ZEALAND

*Dominion Archives*

Recent publications of the Dominion Archives, New Zealand, include two very useful preliminary inventories (Nos. 2 & 3) on *Archives of the New Zealand Company* and *Archives of the Army Department*. Dr. T. M. Hocken (founder of the Hocken Library in Dunedin), after examining all the papers of the New Zealand Company in the Public Record Office, London, found that there were duplicate sets of many of these papers, made up mostly of drafts and fair copies of various documents and the originals and duplicates of letters from the Company's Agents in New Zealand. In 1908 all the documents of the New Zealand Company which the Public Record Office did not require were transferred to the Dominion Archives, the Public Record

Office retaining all fair copies of documents, original copies of despatches and unique documents. The documents so transferred are described in the section of the inventory which deals with Head Office papers. The other three sections refer to papers of the Principal Agent's office and Resident Agent's office at Nelson and New Plymouth.

The Archives of the Army Department described in Preliminary Inventory No. 3 were transferred at various times between 1928 and 1948 from the Department to the Dominion Archives.

#### UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

##### *National Archives and Records Service*

The holdings of the 11 Federal Records Centres, distributed all over the United States, covered over 2 million cubic feet of space in June 1954. In the course of 4 years of its existence, the Region 3 Federal Records Centre at Alexandria, Va., has expanded so rapidly that it now occupies 421,625 square feet of warehouse space spread over several buildings. In 1953, the records of the General Accounting Office 1776-1900 were offered for deposit in the National Archives. By June 1954 some 12,000 cubic feet of these records had been appraised as of enduring value and, together with 3,000 cubic feet of the older central fiscal management records, were transferred to the National Archives building. Additions recently made to record groups already in the National Archives include foreign post records, 1795-1950; records of the Government of Danish West Indies, 1814-1917; and records of the Post Office Department, 1855-1952. The Department of State has deposited in the National Archives a collection of approximately 75,000 frames of microfilms of documents from the archives of the former German Foreign Ministry. This collection consists mainly of material of the period from the autumn of 1937 to March 1939 on German Foreign Policy. Audiovisual materials received include over 1900 negatives of the western scene, 1869-78, and cartographic materials include maps and plans produced or used by the 19th century French canal companies operating in Panama. Recent events are reflected in the accession of records of the 1953 Inaugural Committee and the United States copy of the 1953 Korean Armistice Agreement.

The National Historical Publication Commission met at the National Archives on 1 March 1954. It was decided to print the Commission's final report to the President entitled *A National Program for the Publication of Historical Documents*.

The Records Management Division has issued the first edition of a records management bibliography, and an instructional pamphlet on the development and use of form letters is in the press.

The National Archives building has become an illuminated public building with effect from 29 August 1954. This in fact carries into effect the

plan of its architect, John Russell Pope, to use illumination to focus public attention on the importance of the building and the records preserved and displayed within its walls.

*Library of Congress*

L. Quincy Mumford, former Director of the Cleveland Public Library was sworn in as Librarian of Congress on 1 September 1954. Dr. Solon J. Buck retired from his post as Assistant Librarian on 31 August 1954 and was made the library's honorary consultant on materials for research in American history. The Library of Congress has received an extensive supplement to the papers of Benjamin F. Butler, Union soldier, member of Congress, and Governor of Massachusetts. 41 letter-book volumes contain Butler's own letters from 1875-1893 and there are about 10,000 letters he received chiefly in the 1880's. The Butler papers given to the Library some years ago are concerned with his Civil War service and his activities in 1870's. A small group of papers of George F. Becker (1847-1919) of the U.S. Geological Survey has been received by the Library by transfer from that agency, and Mrs. Becker also contributed some valuable papers, including a number of personal and family letters. A small but valuable addition to the papers of Philander C. Knox includes letters from Presidents McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, Taft and Harding, as well as scattered letters from Mark Hanna, Whitelaw Reid, Elihu Root, Charles J. Bonaparte, Frank B. Kellogg and others. General Peyton C. March has presented to the Library the first instalment of his papers, consisting mainly of correspondence in the 1930's and the manuscript of his book, *The Nation at War*, published in 1932. The Ewing papers in the Library have been increased by a gift of papers dating from 1769 to 1949 relating to General Charles Ewing, lawyer and soldier, and Thomas Ewing, Senator from Ohio and Secretary of the Treasury under Presidents Harrison and Fillmore. The Library was further enriched by nine volumes of the diary of George Von Lengerke, covering his years as Ambassador to Italy, 1901-5 and to Russia, 1905-7, as well as his later service as Postmaster General in Theodore Roosevelt's Cabinet, and his first few months as Secretary of the Navy in the Taft administration.

An inventory of a microfilm collection, *Checklist of Archives in the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1868-1945* (Washington, 1954) has been issued by the Photoduplication Service, Library of Congress.

*Franklin D. Roosevelt Library*

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library recently accessioned the papers of Morris Llewellyn Cooke 1910-53 and some 4,500 photographs of scenes and personages at Hyde Park, 1888-1920.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers* by Sir Mortimer Wheeler (Messrs George Bell & Sons, Ltd., London, 1954; pp. 11+192, 38 plates and one map; price 25 sh.).

ROMAN remains wherever they are discovered are a treasure by themselves. They serve to illustrate the fact that the Roman genius was not confined to merely constructing a huge imperial structure. It found expression in various fields of human endeavour. The book under review reveals the nature of one of its many facets—Rome's commercial contact on a global basis. As the author rightly confesses at the beginning of his introduction, the subject is by no means new. But what is refreshing is the manner in which the old facts with the addition of some new ones are presented. It is here that the value of this small book lies.

Professor Wheeler divides the subject into three parts—Rome and Europe; Rome and Africa comprising Sahara and the east coast; Rome and Asia, special stress being laid on India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. We are primarily concerned with the last part of this interesting and useful book. With the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (author anonymous but the work being dated to the latter half of the 1st century A.D.) as his major source of information (pp. 115-16), the author gives a rough sketch of some of the ports on the western and southern coasts of India, and focuses the attention of the reader on the author's discovery made when he was in India as Director General of Archaeology, of the Roman finds at Arikamedu, 2 miles south of Pondicherry (p. 129) which, as was pointed out by earlier scholars (Schoff, W. H. *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, p. 242), appears to have been the same as *Podouke* of the Periplus and *Podouke* emporium of Ptolemy. Professor Wheeler rejects the date, A.D. 40-41, given to Hippalus by Warmington in favour of an earlier one (A.D. 14), as based on a rock inscription in Latin and Greek discovered in a sheltered spot beside the old road from Coptos to Berenice (pp. 127-29). Evidence from archaeological remains, coins, and ancient Tamil literature is requisitioned to prove that there was a close contact between South India and the Roman World.

While describing the geographical distribution of the Roman coins south of the Vindhyas and in particular in the Deccan, Professor Wheeler rightly lays stress on the region comprising the modern district of Coimbatore. On page 145, he asks the question as to why such an appreciable proportion of the wealth and traffic short-circuited through Coimbatore. To this question he has no answer to give. He at once goes on to the plausible Tamil tradition according to which the Cola, Cera, and Pandya kingdoms met in the Coimbatore district (p. 145). It is a great pity that while thus delineating the part played by the ancient South Indian kingdoms, he has nothing to say about a small but significant principality which was an abode of mineral and agricultural wealth. We are referring to the ancient kingdom

of Punnata which lies to the south of the Mysore State, and concerning which interesting details are available in epigraphs and early literature. It was the land that produced the beryl—the *beryllium* of Pliny (XXXVII. 29). Professor Wheeler's book is a valuable addition to the literature on India's contact with the Western World, and on the extension of Roman commercial and cultural influence in the East.

Orient Longmans are the sole agents and distributors for this book.

B. A. SALETORÉ

*Warren Hastings* by Keith Feiling (London, 1954); pp. 420).

IT is just 113 years since the publication of Gleig's almost unreadable *Memoirs of the Life of Warren Hastings* drew from Macaulay his celebrated essay on Hastings which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* of October 1841. While acknowledging, in noble and rounded periods, Hastings' greatness and dauntless courage, Macaulay heavily underlined the "dark spots on his fame". Describing him as "neither a righteous nor a merciful ruler" he painted a portrait which, though brilliant in colouring, was sadly out of true perspective and owed more to his own imagination than to the historical evidence. Inevitably many came forward to champion Hastings and correct the erroneous impression of him which Macaulay had stamped on the public mind. In the latter half of the last century a number of short 'lives' were published—for the most part pedestrian and undiscriminating in their adulation—as well as special studies of certain incidents in his career e.g., the Rohilla War and the trial of Nand Kumar. Some of these are competent pieces of work, but most of them exhibit a determination to vindicate Hastings' every action, for in the 50 years after the Mutiny it was not fashionable to question the virtues of the founders of the British dominion in India. During the present century a steady stream of books dealing with one or other aspect of Hastings' life and work has continued to issue from the Press; in the last 25 years alone there have been two 'lives'—one of them a full-dress affair by Mervyn Davies—besides the 'life' by Professor Feiling now published. On the whole these works display a more balanced judgment than is to be found in Gleig or Macaulay or other writers of the last century.

It seems probable however that the stream of publications will now dry up and that Professor Feiling's book will be the last full-dress life of Hastings for many years to come. This is not due to its merits, for it is not a particularly good book, but to quite other causes. With the close of British rule in India and the opening of a new era, interest in the origins of that rule may be expected to dwindle. Moreover the ground has already been so fully worked over that there is really little fresh to say. It is stated by the publishers that Professor Feiling has been permitted to use letters of Hastings, hitherto unpublished, to his intimate friend, George Vansittart. This sounds well, but it is difficult to detect that these letters have yielded any fresh fact or shed any new light on Hastings' career. Nor is further rummaging

through old papers likely to be more profitable. The cream of all the documents has long ago been extracted, printed and published. So what Professor Feiling has written will probably remain for many years to come the last word, at any rate in the literal sense, on the subject.

In the circumstances it is a great pity that the Professor has not been able to give us a better book. It is a scholarly work, no doubt, but it is not a very readable one; indeed anyone not already well acquainted with Hastings' story will have considerable difficulty in following it as presented by Professor Feiling. The very opening pages, describing Hastings' ancestry, are so confusedly written that to thread one's way through them requires a degree of concentration far greater than the subject merits. Professor Feiling all too often makes the mistake of offering the reader a plethora of trees without adequately sketching the outlines of the wood. Thus the main provisions and defects of the Regulating Act of 1773 which were a major cause of Hastings' troubles, embroiling him with his own Council, the other Presidencies and the Supreme Court, are nowhere clearly and concisely stated. Even the composition of the new Council for Bengal, whose members were named in the Act itself, is not fully given; the reader who possesses no prior knowledge is left to discover or infer that besides the new-comers—Clavering, Monson and Francis—and Hastings himself, Barwell, (of whom, it must be said, an excellent sketch is given earlier) was the fifth member. The truth is that Mervyn Davies' fat volume on Hastings, though it cannot compare with Professor Feiling's book in range of detailed knowledge and scholarship, is more readable and intelligible than the Professor's crowded pages. No doubt the detail which these pages contain is often interesting or amusing. One likes to read that Lady Russell, the widow of Oliver Cromwell's grandson, was still the doyenne of Calcutta society in 1757, that the daughter of Watts, Hastings' first chief at Kasimbazar, later married Charles Jenkinson, first Earl of Liverpool, that Philadelphia, wife of the surgeon Hancock, a close friend of Hastings in the early years after Plassey, was the aunt of Jane Austen, and that the Burra Begum so hated her grandson Asaf-ud-Daulah that she had any chair broken to pieces on which he had sat during their conversations. But all this is hardly sufficient compensation for the absence of a firm outline. Unless the reader already possesses his own guiding clues, he will lose his way in the dense jungle of fact and allusion. Names appear and disappear without explanation or introduction and the reader, left guessing, will get little assistance from the index. One example out of many may be taken by way of illustration. On page 49 we read, "Much worse was to come. In July the British declared war and restored Mir Jaffir, Adams' gallant force occupied Murshidabad and marched on Monghyr." But who was Adams and his gallant force? He has never been mentioned before and he is never mentioned again, and his name does not find a place in the index. Like Melchisedek he suddenly appears and suddenly vanishes. On the very next page he is replaced without explanation by

Hector Munro. Professor Feiling must have been writing for a very esoteric circle of readers, if he presumes that they can supply from their own knowledge the missing information.

A work so allusive should at least have a good index, but the index provided is painfully inadequate. Adams' is by no means the only name omitted. On page 289 the marriage of Francis' protégé Bristow to Amelia Wrangham is mentioned. If one looks up the index to find out if there had been any previous reference to this famous Bengal beauty, one will be disappointed, as her name does not appear in it at all! Similarly Lady Russell, though mentioned at least twice in the text, does not appear in the index. On page 206, when we are still in the year 1779-80, there occurs an unexpected reference to Stables who did not join the Bengal Council till late in 1782. If surprised at the casual introduction of this quite a new figure and, thinking that his memory might be at fault, the reader were to consult the index to see whether Stables has been mentioned already, he will be puzzled to find that the index gives the first reference to him as on page 279!

On the main controversies of Hastings' career, Professor Feiling seems to avoid passing any judgment. The relevant facts are, however, presented fairly, if not always too clearly, and he brings out well the point that the spoliation of the Begums took place at Hastings' instance and was not, as he afterwards tried to make out, an entirely spontaneous move by Asaf-ud-Daulah; the latter was instigated to proceed against their property by direct or indirect hints from Hastings and his subordinates. In short, though not by any means unsympathetic to Hastings, Professor Feiling does not conceal or palliate his errors and weaknesses; and perhaps the general effect of the book is to do rather less than justice to his greatness. In part this arises from the fact that the long closing years of ineffectual retirement are described in some detail. These certainly do not add to Hastings' stature. As Professor Feiling says, "Though he was only sixty-three when he was acquitted, some main spring had broken." One gets the impression, in his years as squire at Daylesford, of a kindly but somewhat petty and pedantic old gentleman. But while the foibles of old age may be forgiven, one cannot help being sickened by the details which Professor Feiling supplies of the absurd extravagance and improvidence of Hastings and his Marion on their return to England which drove him again and again to beg the Directors for financial assistance. A man who had ruled an empire ought by sixty to have learnt how to manage his financial affairs and to avoid the indignity of having to beg and borrow.

A word about the spelling of Indian names. Professor Feiling says that he has conformed to recent practice, "adopting the forms of standard authorities such as the Imperial Gazetteer except in the case of words which a long tradition has made part of our common history." The principle is unexceptionable, but hardly seems to explain 'Budge Budge' on page 10 and 'Baj Baj' on page 23.

PENDEREL MOON

*Midnapore Salt Papers: Hijli and Tamluk (1781-1807)*, edited by Narendra Krishna Sinha (West Bengal Regional Records Survey Committee, Calcutta; pp. 228 and 3 Maps).

THE discontinuance of the publication of district records begun by Bishop Firminger must be regretted by all students of the social and economic history of Bengal. The volume under review will, it is hoped, mark the beginning of the publication of a new series of selections from old district records and draw attention to one of the neglected sources of modern Indian history.

The salt papers incorporated in this volume are published in accordance with a resolution of the West Bengal Regional Records Survey Committee. The expenses of the publication have been met from funds placed at its disposal by the Government of West Bengal. The editor has written the introduction, the rest of the work having been done by two assistant editors under his supervision.

There may be differences of opinion as to how far the hope expressed in the preface that the book will make one of the neglected sources of modern Indian history better known has been fulfilled. Mere publication of dry documents, without an adequate explanation of the background and the importance of the subject matter as helping an understanding of the life of the people, will not be of much use for a proper appreciation of the social and economic conditions of the time.

In a book of 228 pages the introduction covers only twenty-four, and of these only half concern the real subject matter of the documents. Altogether one hundred and seventy-three documents have been incorporated in the book. Of these only thirty have been referred to by the editor in the introduction. There is no reference to the remaining one hundred and forty-three documents. One wishes that the introduction had more bearing on the documents published.

There is no proper attempt to elucidate the subject matter of the documents and make them interesting to the readers of the present day by interpreting them in the light of contemporary and subsequent development of events. The real value of such publications is to focus attention on certain aspects of the life of the people in olden days so as to arouse the curiosity of the present day scholars for delving further into the past. Unless this is done, the documents which so long remained as worn out manuscripts will only be preserved in printed pages.

In No. 33(e) of the Hijli Letters issued, the *malangis* of Chakla, Jellasore (Jaleswar), in their petition complain that while their fellow workers of Cockrah and certain other parganas received for their salt "60 Rs per % mds", they of the three parganas received only "40 Rs per % mds". "We are poor inhabitants", so ran the petition, "look into our circumstances and order

us the Cockrah price, we shall then boil more salt than we did last year, but if you do not increase the price of our salt we will boil none." The concluding part of the statement, indeed, holds out a threat which is possible of execution only if there is something like a union or a guild. The reader looks in vain for a discussion as to the existence of any organization among the *malangis* which might make them so bold as to hold out a threat of collective stoppage of work.

The low wages of the "native" servants of the Company has been put forth as a contributory cause for their alleged corruption. But the standard of wages has to be judged in relation to prices of essential commodities. In the absence of a statement as to the prevailing price rate, it is difficult to conclude that a salary of Rs. 30/- per month was too small for a *darogah* at the *chauki*. Even in the twenties and thirties of the present century, when the price of commodities was many times higher than during the eighties and nineties of the eighteenth century, an Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police would start with a salary of Rs. 25/- only per month. Considered in this light, the salary rates as we find in No. 12 of the Tamluk Letters issued cannot be regarded as the primary cause of dishonesty among the petty Indian officials.

There is a glossary at the end of the book. Its intention obviously is to explain some technical and archaic terms to the modern reader. But many of the terms in the text have found no place in the glossary. To name only a few, terms like *sujahmarah*, *takooamarah*, *thansooktie*, indicating different stages in the manufacture of salt, have not been explained in the glossary.

The editors have also appended a biographical note on the European officers connected with the salt trade between 1781 and 1807. Here also we find certain omissions, which could perhaps not be avoided.

The three maps present a lively contrast at the end of so many dreary pages. But their importance could have been enhanced with short notes on the place names and the topographical changes that have since taken place.

To say all this is not to decry or minimise the importance of the book. It furnishes valuable material for research in the field of our historical and economic studies. Salt as an article of manufacture and trade has aroused many controversies in Indian history. The salt duties and taxes have stimulated abuses, evasion and political opposition culminating sporadically in revolt. The national movement in India invariably found in the salt tax a weapon which could be used most effectively in the struggle against British imperialism. But the scholars who undertake to bring out the significance of the salt industry in our economic and national life must try to see that the salt which they serve does not lose its savour.

*A Source Book on the Wreck of the Grosvenor East Indiaman* edited by Percival R. Kirby (The Van Riebeck Society, South African Library, Cape Town, pp. vi + 228; price 15 sh. 9 d.).

PROFESSOR KIRBY breaks new ground in the sense that he has brought together in a convenient form all the available accounts relating to the ship *Grosvenor*. It was a three-masted, square-rigged frigate, built at Deptford in 1770, and launched on her maiden voyage to India. She weathered the storm of three voyages to India; but her fourth and last voyage from Bengal early in 1782 proved fatal. While sailing off Ceylon on 13 April 1782, she was attacked by the French squadron under Admiral Suffren. The naval engagement ended in a draw, the French fleet withdrawing to Colombo, and the English, to Trincomali. From that port the *Grosvenor* sailed for England on 13 June. On 4 August 1782 she ran ashore on the South African coast. This was the end of the gallant ship which figured in the records of the East India Company. The notes which the learned author has used by way of elucidating the documents edited by him add to the importance of the book as source material on an interesting subject. Such books on East Indiamen would greatly widen the sphere of our knowledge of the eighteenth century.

B. A. SALETORÉ

*Annual Report on the National Archives and Records Service from the Annual Report of the Administrator of General Services for the year ending June 30, 1952* (Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1953; pp. 57-90).

THE accelerated rate of progress towards achievement of an economical and efficient system for the management of the records of the Federal Government since 1949 reflects in a great measure the success of the changes brought about in the organizational make-up of the National Archives as a result of Hoover Commission's recommendations.

During the fiscal year 1951, a good beginning was made in developing and installing a comprehensive records management programme for the Federal Government. This was the first full year of its operation since it was authorized by the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 and defined in greater detail in the Federal Records Act of 1950. This programme envisages creating and maintaining of records in the most economical manner while they are in use in current business and retiring of permanently valuable records by transfer to the National Archives and outright disposal of the rest or their transfer to a records centre until they are ready for accession in the National Archives or for destruction. This increased activity is reflected in the setting up of an eighth Federal Records Centre in St. Louis (for records of civilian employees of the Federal Agencies) and expansion of the others during the year to cope with the mass of records offered to them for intermediate storage. The figure of 741,000 cubic feet

as against 608,000 cubic feet of last year of records transferred to these centres speaks volumes for the increased activity of these depositories.

The Records Management Surveys undertaken by the General Services Administration concentrate chiefly on the evaluation of the records retirement programmes and practices of the agencies. In the course of these surveys, about 270,000 cubic feet of records were inventoried and draft schedules prepared for 940,000 cubic feet.

The Joint Congressional Committee has finally ordered the transfer from the Library of Congress of the original engrossed copies of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States along with the records of the Continental Congress and the Constitutional Convention to the National Archives. The National Archives now very rightly claims to be what it was originally intended to be "a repository of all historically significant records of the National Government and one of the important national centres of historical research."

This all-round increase in the activities of the Archives has not prevented it from fulfilling efficiently its primary duty of making records and the information contained in them available to researchers, both official and unofficial. In the field of private research, many books based on the source materials, available in the National Archives were published. Leonard D. White's *The Jeffersonians, a study in administrative history—1801-1829* is one of the many books published which relied on these records for information and authenticity.

To make the records easily available to interested parties the National Archives made steady progress in its extensive programme of preparing finding aids such as comprehensive guides, handbooks, inventories and descriptive lists. Detailed inventories were prepared during the year for the World War II records of the Naval Establishments, Office of Censorship, National Resources Planning Board, President's Air Policy Commission and several more.

Among the new items of work undertaken by the National Archives, mention may be made of the methodical survey of the motion picture holdings which revealed that there were 65,008 cans of nitrate film and 1,60,666 cans of acetate film in its custody.

The report ends with a short description of the Federal Register and other publications and a review of the activities of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

It is with a subdued sense of pride for the targets reached and progress maintained in the various projects undertaken that the National Archives offers this report of its yearly activities, but the Department is by no means complacent. Aware of the work which still remains to be completed, it is directing its energies with renewed vigour and keen earnestness.

DHAN KESWANI

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